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The Epistemology of Gender Justice In Islamic Legal Discourse on FGM/C: Legitimacy, Authority, And The Reconstruction of Fiqh In KUPI

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis epistemologi keadilan gender dalam diskursus hukum Islam tentang female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) dengan menyoroti mekanisme produksi legitimasi religius, peran otoritas sosial-keagamaan, dan rekonstruksi fiqh dalam perspektif Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI). Penelitian ini penting karena FGM/C di Indonesia tidak hanya bertahan sebagai praktik sosial-budaya, tetapi juga kerap dilegitimasi sebagai norma keagamaan, meskipun basis tekstual dan manfaat medisnya problematis. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif berbasis studi kepustakaan dengan pengumpulan data secara purposif dari dokumen primer, yakni hasil Musyawarah Keagamaan KUPI II tentang P2GP tanpa alasan medis, rujukan fiqh dan hadis yang dipakai dalam perdebatan khifāḍ, serta regulasi kesehatan terkait sunat perempuan, dan dilengkapi data sekunder berupa artikel akademik, buku, serta laporan lembaga nasional dan internasional. Analisis dilakukan melalui pembacaan tematik-kritis dengan memadukan pemetaan mekanisme legitimasi, hermeneutika kontekstual, dan evaluasi normatif berbasis maqāṣid al-sharīʻah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa legitimasi FGM/C dalam diskursus hukum Islam lebih banyak ditopang oleh seleksi dalil, normalisasi ʻurf, dan penguatan otoritas sosial-keagamaan daripada oleh mandat tekstual yang eksplisit dan otoritatif. Penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa pendekatan kritis-transformatif KUPI merekonstruksi fiqh dengan menempatkan maqāṣid al-sharīʻah, hermeneutika kontekstual, dan pengalaman hidup perempuan sebagai basis epistemik untuk menilai mudarat, sehingga mengarah pada penolakan terhadap praktik yang membahayakan tanpa alasan medis. Implikasi penelitian ini menegaskan pentingnya pembaruan cara berfiqh, penguatan edukasi keagamaan yang berperspektif perlindungan, serta sinergi antara otoritas keagamaan, layanan kesehatan, dan kebijakan negara dalam pencegahan FGM/C. Orisinalitas penelitian ini terletak pada pergeseran fokus dari perdebatan kesehatan atau hak asasi manusia menuju persoalan epistemologi hukum Islam, sekaligus menempatkan KUPI sebagai model rekonstruksi fiqh berbasis keadilan gender dan perlindungan integritas tubuh perempuan.

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Kata Kunci: FGM/C; hukum Islam; epistemologi keadilan gender; KUPI; rekonstruksi fiqh

Abstract

This study aims to analyse the epistemology of gender justice in Islamic legal discourse on female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) by highlighting the mechanisms through which religious legitimacy is produced, the role of socio-religious authority, and the reconstruction of fiqh from the perspective of the Indonesian Women Ulama Congress (KUPI). This study is significant because FGM/C in Indonesia persists not only as a socio-cultural practice, but is also frequently legitimised as a religious norm, despite its problematic textual basis and questionable medical benefit. The study employs a qualitative approach based on library research, with purposive data collection from primary documents, namely the outcomes of the KUPI II Religious Deliberation on P2GP without medical grounds, fiqh and hadith references used in debates on khifāḍ, and health regulations concerning female circumcision, supplemented by secondary data in the form of academic articles, books, and reports published by national and international institutions. The analysis is conducted through a thematic-critical reading that combines mapping the mechanisms of legitimacy, contextual hermeneutics, and normative evaluation grounded in maqāṣid al-sharī'ah. The findings show that the legitimacy of FGM/C in Islamic legal discourse is sustained more by selective use of scriptural evidence, the normalisation of 'urf, and the reinforcement of socio-religious authority than by any explicit and authoritative textual mandate. The study also finds that KUPI's critical-transformative approach reconstructs fiqh by positioning maqāṣid al-sharī'ah, contextual hermeneutics, and women's lived experiences as epistemic foundations for assessing harm, thereby leading to the rejection of practices that are harmful and lack medical grounds. The implications of this study underline the importance of renewing methods of legal reasoning in fiqh, strengthening religious education from a protection-oriented perspective, and fostering synergy between religious authorities, healthcare services, and state policy in the prevention of FGM/C. The originality of this study lies in its shift of focus from debates on health or human rights to the epistemological question within Islamic law, while also positioning KUPI as a model for the reconstruction of fiqh grounded in gender justice and the protection of women's bodily integrity.

Keyword: FGM/C; Islamic law; epistemology of gender justice; KUPI; reconstruction of fiqh

Introduction

FGM/C (female genital mutilation/cutting), or the cutting or otherwise harmful alteration of female genitalia, remains practised in various parts of the world and continues to raise serious concerns relating to health, ethics, and gender justice. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines FGM as all procedures involving the partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons. WHO further emphasises that this practice has no health benefits,

may cause both short- and long-term physical and psychological complications, and is internationally recognised as a violation of the human rights of women and girls. The scale of the problem remains substantial. UNICEF reports that more than 230 million women and girls alive today have undergone FGM, an increase of around 15 per cent, or approximately 30 million, compared with estimates from eight years earlier. This indicates that the rate of decline still falls short of what is required for the global elimination of the practice (World Health Organization).

In the Indonesian context, the practice commonly referred to as female circumcision is still found and is often sustained in the name of tradition, bodily morality, and religious identity. Data from the 2021 SPHPN, as cited by Komnas Perempuan, show that around 21.3 per cent of girls born to women aged 15–49 and living in the same household had undergone FGM/C according to WHO criteria, namely involving cutting or other forms of harm, while around 33.7 per cent had undergone it in symbolic form. Komnas Perempuan also notes that 92 per cent of parental decisions are influenced by religious understandings that regard the practice as a religious obligation. At the policy level, Ministry of Health Regulation No. 6 of 2014 revoked Ministry of Health Regulation No. 1636/Menkes/PER/XII/2010 on female circumcision. In more recent regulatory developments, Ministry of Health Regulation No. 2 of 2025 incorporated the elimination of female circumcision practices that endanger the reproductive system into the framework of promotive reproductive health efforts. These facts indicate that FGM/C in Indonesia cannot adequately be understood merely as a public health issue, but must also be seen as a matter of socio-religious legitimacy, the persistence of tradition, and power relations over women's bodies (komnasperempuan.go.id).

In the existing literature, research on FGM/C can be mapped into three main tendencies. First, socio-cultural and historical studies interpret FGM/C as a practice sustained by communal norms, social rationalities, and processes of cultural transmission, while also showing that the practice may transform without entirely disappearing, for example through medicalisation, a reduction in severity, or changes in the age at which it is performed (Johnsdotter, 2012; Mohammed, Hassan and Eyada, 2014; Matanda *et al.*, 2023). In migration contexts, changing attitudes towards FGM/C also occur through complex negotiations involving law, identity, social networks, and inherited norms (Faraca, 2023; Salah et al., 2024). In Indonesia, a similar tendency is evident in studies showing the reproduction of the practice as a tradition passed down across generations and linked to social control over women's bodies, particularly in Javanese contexts (Mustaqim, 2013; Sa'dan, 2016). Second, studies on health, human rights, and

intervention emphasise both the short- and long-term health consequences of FGM/C while also testing the effectiveness of prevention strategies. The literature suggests that interventions tend to be more effective when they operate at the level of social norms, involve community actors, and take gender relations in decision-making processes into account (Berg and Denison, 2012, 2013; Varol *et al.*, 2015; Mwendwa *et al.*, 2020). Third, studies in Islamic discourse, Islamic feminism, and hermeneutics emphasise that debates on FGM/C cannot be separated from contestations over interpretive authority, the methodology of *istinbāṭ*, and gender bias in the production of religious knowledge. A number of studies show a spectrum of views among religious authorities, ranging from religious justification to the assertion that the underlying reports are weak, while Islamic feminist scholarship underlines the importance of contextual reading, critiques of gender-biased interpretation, and recognition of women's experiences as a basis of knowledge for constructing arguments of justice (Raemdonck, 2017; Ibrahim, 2019; Arofi, 2021; Bahar, 2021; Akhtar, Khan and Khan, 2022; Fina and Wahyuni, 2022). In the Indonesian context, studies on the Indonesian Women Ulama Congress (KUPI) demonstrate the formation of women ulama's religious authority in contemporary issues and anti-violence advocacy, including the articulation of a clear position on P2GP without medical grounds (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022; Hidayatulloh and Syifa, 2023; Arwani and Hannase, 2024).

Although diverse, this body of literature still leaves an important gap. Many studies have mapped FGM/C as a matter of tradition, health, or human rights, and some have criticised patriarchal bias in religious interpretation. However, relatively few studies have systematically explained how religious legitimacy for FGM/C is produced within fiqh discourse through the selective use of evidence, the normalisation of *'urf*, and the reinforcement of socio-religious authority, and how an epistemology of gender justice can reconstruct Islamic legal reasoning so that it becomes more accountable to harm, bodily integrity, and women's dignity. It is at this point that this study takes its position, namely by placing KUPI's critical-transformative approach as a framework for re-reading the relationship between text, tradition, and the ethical purposes of the sharī'ah, while also centring women's experiences as an epistemic basis in fiqh argumentation.

Departing from this gap, this study aims to analyse the epistemological foundations of gender justice in Islamic legal discourse on FGM/C, with particular attention to KUPI's critical-transformative approach. The study integrates contextual hermeneutics and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* as instruments of normative evaluation, while positioning women's lived experiences as a source of epistemic data for assessing impacts, harms, and injustices that

often remain unarticulated in conventional fiqh reasoning (Fina & Wahyuni, 2022; KUPI, 2022). Through this strategy, the study seeks to explain the mechanisms of legitimacy linking tradition, textual interpretation, and socio-religious authority, while also offering a conceptual foundation for a fiqh that emphasises bodily integrity, the prevention of harm, and the protection of human dignity.

The central argument of this study is that the persistence of FGM/C in many Muslim communities is more accurately understood as the result of a socio-cultural construction legitimised through patriarchal readings and the normalisation of tradition, rather than as a consequence of any explicit and authoritative textual mandate. Accordingly, when legal reasoning is tested through *maqāṣid* by means of the *maṣlaḥah–mafsadah* framework, read through contextual hermeneutics, and opened to women's experiences as a source of knowledge, the religious legitimacy of FGM/C is normatively weakened and moves towards the rejection of practices that cause harm. Within this framework, KUPI's position is significant not merely as a moral stance, but as an example of protection-based fiqh reconstruction. The outcome document of the Second KUPI Religious Deliberation adopts the term "P2GP without medical grounds" and determines that P2GP which causes harm without medical grounds is *haram*, that all parties bear responsibility for preventing it, and that the use of authority to protect women from the danger of such acts is obligatory.

This study employs a qualitative approach based on library research, focusing on the analysis of Islamic legal discourse on FGM/C and the reconstruction of fiqh from KUPI's perspective. Data were collected purposively from primary documents, namely the outcomes of the Second KUPI Religious Deliberation concerning P2GP without medical grounds, fiqh and hadith references frequently used in debates on *khifāḍ*, and Indonesian health regulations relating to female circumcision. Secondary data consist of relevant academic articles, books, and reports from national and international institutions. The analysis was conducted through a thematic-critical reading encompassing three steps: mapping the mechanisms of legitimacy, including text, *'urf*, and authority; applying contextual hermeneutics to textual evidence and fiqh argumentation; and conducting normative evaluation based on *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, especially through the *maṣlaḥah–mafsadah* test, the principle of preventing harm, and the classification of *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* and *'urf sā'i'*. The validity of the findings was maintained through source triangulation and backward tracing between the analytical findings and the data employed.

The theoretical framework of this study is designed to read FGM/C as a problem of legitimacy production within Islamic legal discourse, while also

explaining how a gender justice-based reconstruction of fiqh may lead to the rejection of practices that cause harm. To this end, the study combines three principal foundations: *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah* as a normative test, contextual hermeneutics as a control over textual interpretation, and feminist epistemology as the basis for recognising women's experiences as a relevant source of knowledge.

Maqāṣid al-sharīʿah is understood as a teleological framework of evaluation that places the ethical purposes of the sharīʿah at the centre of legal determination, such that the validity of a norm does not end with the existence of a textual reference, but is determined by the extent to which it realises benefit and prevents harm. In the classical tradition, this orientation was formulated as the connection between the sharīʿah and the realisation of *maṣlaḥah* and the removal of *mafsadah*, as developed in *uṣūl al-fiqh* by al-Shāṭibī. In modern developments, Ibn ʻĀshūr positioned *maqāṣid* as a methodology for the renewal of Islamic law, Kamali emphasised its relevance for enhancing the quality of *ijtihād*, and Auda developed it as a critique of formal legalism so that law might move towards protection, justice, and human development (al-Tahir Ibn 'Ashur, 2006; Auda, 2008; Kamali, 2008). On this basis, normative claims concerning women's bodies are assessed through the parameters of *maṣlaḥah–mafsadah* and the orientation of protecting life, human dignity, and bodily integrity.

Contextual hermeneutics is employed to assess how texts and transmitted reports are used in fiqh argumentation, particularly when textual evidence is selected selectively or detached from its historical-ethical context, thereby functioning as a normative justification for harmful practices. Through his double movement model, Fazlur Rahman emphasised the importance of linking the context of revelation to contemporary issues so that the general moral principles contained in the text may be applied responsibly to new situations (Rahman, 1982). Abdullah Saeed strengthened this approach through contextual interpretation, which attends to context, hierarchies of values, and the ethical implications of applying norms, so that legal reasoning does not stop at a literalism that ignores consequences for human beings (Saeed, 2006). Thus, contextual hermeneutics shifts the focus of analysis from the question of whether a reference exists to the question of how that reference is read, which ethical values are being preserved, and what social consequences are borne by affected subjects.

The *maqāṣid* framework and contextual hermeneutics are further strengthened by feminist epistemology in order to explain androcentric bias in the production of religious knowledge. Haraway emphasises that knowledge is always situated (*situated knowledges*), such that claims to objectivity must be examined from the social location in which that

knowledge is produced and from the perspective of those silenced in the process (Haraway, 1988). Harding shows that feminist critique demands attention to the power relations that shape what is regarded as legitimate knowledge (Harding, 1991). In this context, the concept of epistemic injustice helps explain how the experiences of certain groups may be devalued or denied credibility in the production of normative knowledge; Fricker describes this as a wrong done to someone specifically in their capacity as a knower (Fricker, 2007). Therefore, women's lived experiences, including pain, trauma, stigma, and the loss of bodily autonomy, are positioned in this study as relevant epistemic data for assessing harms and injustices that often remain unread within the language of formal fiqh.

These three theoretical foundations are operationalised through KUPI's critical-transformative framework as the locus of analysis. Methodologically, KUPI is significant because it provides a concrete example of fiqh reconstruction that combines the *maqāṣid* test, contextual reading, and recognition of women's experiences in order to dismantle patriarchal legitimacy for harmful practices. Thus, in this study, KUPI is understood not merely as a normative position, but as an epistemological model for the formation of an Islamic legal discourse that is more accountable to the protection of bodily integrity and human dignity.

Results and Discussion

The Epistemology of Gender Justice in Islamic Legal Discourse on FGM/C

The analysis shows that Islamic legal discourse on P2GP/FGM/C can no longer adequately be read solely through the question of whether the practice is medically beneficial or harmful. Rather, it must be understood as a question of the epistemology of Islamic law: how a problematic practice can continue to circulate as a religious norm through processes of fiqh knowledge production, the selective use of evidence, the normalisation of tradition, and the reinforcement of socio-religious authority. In this context, "religious" status does not arise automatically from the text, but is constructed through discursive processes that determine which evidence is selected, how transmitted reports are read, and whose authority is recognised as a legitimate representation of Islamic teaching. This finding demonstrates that the legitimacy of P2GP/FGM/C operates not merely at the normative level, but also at the epistemic level, namely through mechanisms that obscure social construction by presenting it as religious obligation.

The analysis of the data further indicates that, within this discourse, religious texts operate alongside *'urf* and socio-religious authority. In other words, the legitimacy of the practice does not arise from scriptural texts alone, but from the interplay between religious references, inherited

tradition, and the authority of ulama or religious leaders who normalise the practice within communal life. For this reason, P2GP/FGM/C may continue to appear as something "normal" or "natural", even where its normative basis is weak or contested. Within this framework, religious practice is more appropriately understood as the product of a socio-epistemic process rather than as a direct reflection of a clear textual command.

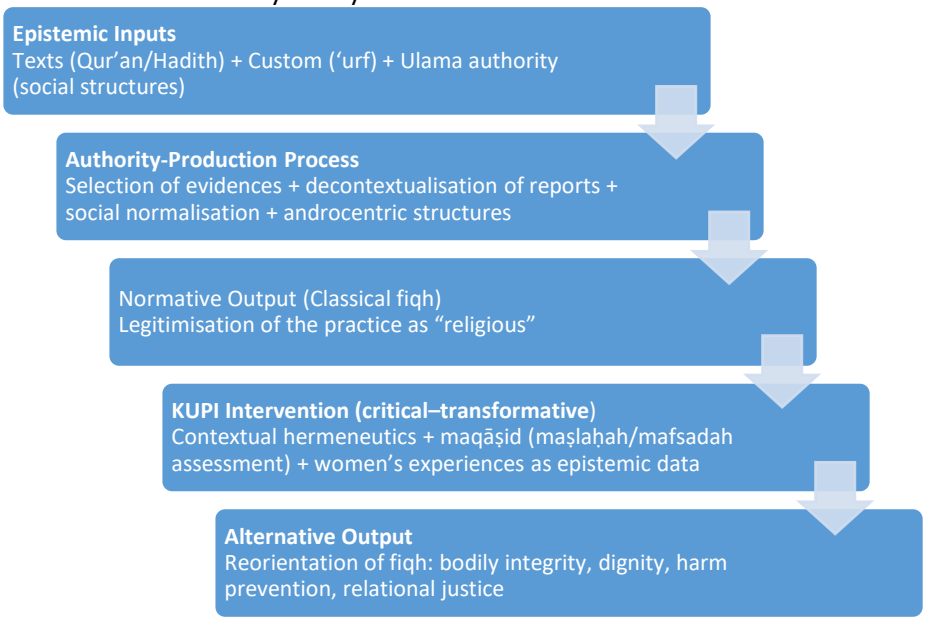
A further finding shows that religious normalisation operates most strongly at the family level. Data from Komnas Perempuan indicating that 92 per cent of parental decisions are influenced by religious understanding demonstrate that the language of "religious obligation" functions as an effective mechanism of justification in domestic decision-making (Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan, 2024). At this point, religious claims function not only as normative arguments, but also as devices for closing off critical space: once a practice is perceived as part of religious teaching, evaluation of its harms, the experiences of victims, or the relevance of the evidence tends to be marginalised. This finding therefore confirms that the resilience of P2GP/FGM/C is sustained more by the effectiveness of religious language in producing social compliance than by the strength of genuinely authoritative evidence.

In this study's reading, KUPI's critical-transformative approach functions as an epistemological correction to these mechanisms of legitimacy. KUPI shifts the basis of legal validity away from the mere existence of references or the weight of tradition towards an assessment of the ethical purposes of the sharīʿah and the concrete effects on women's bodies and lives. Here, *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah* becomes a decisive evaluative instrument: legitimacy cannot rest simply on inherited custom or repeated opinion, but must be tested through the parameters of *maṣlaḥah* and *mafsadah*, particularly the protection of life, human dignity, and bodily integrity (Auda, 2008). This finding shows that such a shift in the standard of validity constitutes the core of KUPI's epistemological renewal in reading P2GP/FGM/C.

In addition, the analysis demonstrates that women's lived experiences are positioned as a legitimate source of knowledge in legal reasoning. In conventional fiqh discourse, women's bodily experiences often do not receive adequate epistemic status; pain, trauma, stigma, and the loss of bodily autonomy tend to be subordinated to abstract normative language. By contrast, in KUPI's approach, women's experiences are treated as relevant data for assessing harm and injustice. This finding is consistent with feminist epistemology on situated knowledge and strong objectivity, namely that incorporating the perspectives of affected groups in fact strengthens the rigour of analysis in relation to the biases of dominant authority (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1991). Thus, the epistemological correction offered by KUPI

occurs not only at the level of textual method, but also at the level of recognising who is entitled to serve as a source of knowledge in the formation of norms.

Figure 1. The Process of Producing Islamic Legal Authority over P2GP/FGM/C and KUPI's Intervention



To clarify this mechanism, the findings of this study may be mapped in terms of the process through which Islamic legal authority over P2GP/FGM/C is produced, as illustrated in Figure 1. At the initial stage, epistemic inputs derive not only from religious texts, but also from local traditions, moral assumptions concerning women's bodies, and the influence of socio-religious authority. These inputs are then processed through the selective use of evidence, the decontextualisation of transmitted reports, and the reinforcement of legitimacy by figures or institutions recognised as authoritative. The output of this process is visible in the strengthening of the perception that female circumcision is a "religious obligation", which in turn influences family decision-making and the reproduction of the practice in communal settings (Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan, 2019, 2024). KUPI's intervention works by disrupting this process: religious claims are no longer accepted merely because they are inherited or endorsed by authority, but are tested through *maqāṣid*, contextual reading, and evidence of harm, while being re-read by positioning women's experiences as an epistemic basis.

Based on the overall analysis, four principal findings emerge. First, the legitimacy of P2GP/FGM/C does not derive from text alone, but from the

interrelation of text, *'urf*, and socio-religious authority, which together normalise the practice within communal life. Second, religious normalisation operates very effectively at the family level through claims of "religious understanding", such that religious language becomes a tool of justification that closes off critical evaluation of harm. Third, KUPI's approach corrects this pattern by positioning *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* as a teleological test, so that the validity of legal claims depends on their coherence with the ethical purposes of the sharī'ah, rather than on the repetition of tradition or authority. Fourth, women's lived experiences are positioned as legitimate epistemic data for testing normative claims, thereby rendering legal reasoning more accountable to victims and more sensitive to forms of injustice previously obscured by androcentric structures of knowledge (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1991; Auda, 2008; Mahmudah and Islahuddin, 2025).

Accordingly, the findings of this study confirm that the central problem of P2GP/FGM/C in Islamic legal discourse lies not merely in controversy over its supposed medical benefit, nor in a simple dichotomy between religion and human rights, but in the way legal knowledge is produced, authorised, and disseminated. The practice may persist as a "religious obligation" not because its normative foundation is robust, but because it is supported by a regime of authority that selects evidence, normalises tradition, and disregards women's experiences as affected subjects. In this context, KUPI provides an important epistemological correction: religious claims must be tested through contextual hermeneutics, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, and women's lived experiences as relevant epistemic data. The practical implication is that the prevention of P2GP/FGM/C will not be effective if it relies solely on public health arguments or regulatory instruments, but must also be accompanied by the reconstruction of religious authority and the renewal of fiqh reasoning so that it is more closely aligned with the protection of bodily integrity, the prevention of gender-based violence, and human dignity.

The Legitimacy of FGM/C Is More Strongly Shaped by Patriarchal and Cultural Constructions than by Authoritative Evidence

The findings of this study show that claims of religious legitimacy for FGM/C rest more heavily on socio-cultural constructions and patriarchal readings than on any explicit and authoritative textual mandate. At the level of scriptural text, an examination of the foundational sources shows that there is no Qur'anic verse that specifically commands FGM/C; a UNFPA document confirms that there is no verse in the Qur'an that can serve as a basis for justifying the practice (United Nations Population Fund, 2008). At the level of hadith, a number of scholarly authorities and fatwa institutions hold that the reports frequently used to justify *khifāḍ* do not meet the

standards required for legal proof; Dar al-Ifta' al-Misriyyah, for example, affirms the weakness of the transmission chains relating to female circumcision and concludes that there is no Prophetic basis that may be followed in treating it as a normative obligation. In the same vein, a study of hadith and health in Indonesia concludes that female circumcision has no strong basis in hadith, while the practice persists primarily as an inherited tradition (Farida, Putra and Kasdi, 2022). Taken together, these findings indicate that claims of "obligation" or "sunnah" do not receive sufficient textual support to function as a binding normative basis.

Despite this weak evidential basis, the practice persists because it functions as a social tradition that has been naturalised and linked to the morality of women's bodies. In many contexts, FGM/C is attached to narratives of purity, modesty, and control over women's sexuality, so that it appears as an ethical and communal obligation. This pattern of cultural reproduction is evident in studies on Java showing how female circumcision is reproduced as a tradition regarded as normal and transmitted across generations, while also being connected to the dynamics of social control over women's bodies (Mustaqim, 2013). A critical hermeneutical approach likewise shows that the legitimacy of the practice often emerges through textual readings that are inadequate in historical and ethical terms, enabling harmful traditions to acquire symbolic religious justification (Sa'dan, 2016).

From the perspective of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, these findings underline the importance of distinguishing between *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* and *'urf sā'i'*. Tradition may be considered as a basis of legal reasoning only when it is consistent with the principles of justice and does not cause harm; conversely, traditions that damage women's bodies and dignity cannot be granted legal legitimacy. This direction is consistent with KUPI's position, which emphasises the prevention of harm and the protection of women from "P2GP without medical grounds" (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022). At the level of Indonesian policy, the revocation of Ministry of Health Regulation No. 1636/2010 through Ministry of Health Regulation No. 6/2014 affirms the state's recognition that the practice commonly referred to as female circumcision has neither medical benefit nor scientific justification (Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, 2014). Accordingly, the persistence of FGM/C is better explained as the result of socio-religious normalisation combining tradition, authority, and patriarchal control over women's bodies, rather than as the consequence of any clear textual mandate.

Table 2. Evidence that the legitimacy of FGM/C is more strongly shaped by patriarchal and cultural constructions than by authoritative evidence

Aspect of evidence	**Data/indicator**	**Main source**
Absence of an explicit Qur'anic mandate	There is no Qur'anic verse that can serve as a basis for justifying FGM/C	UNFPA (2008)
Weak hadith basis	Reports on female circumcision are regarded as weak and insufficient as a basis for normative obligation	Dar al-Ifta al-Misriyyah (2021)
Weak hadith basis in academic research	Female circumcision has no strong basis in hadith; the practice persists as an inherited tradition	Farida (2022)
Tradition transmitted across generations	The practice is reproduced as a tradition and social identity	Mustaqim (2013)
Morality and control of women's bodies	The practice is linked to purity, modesty, and the moral conformity expected by the community	Mustaqim (2013); Sa'dan (2016)
'Urf as a device of legitimacy that must be tested	Harmful traditions cannot be legitimised; they should be classified as 'urf sā'i' and abandoned	Sa'dan (2016); KUPI (2022)
Normative and policy correction	Emphasis on preventing harmful P2GP without medical grounds and revocation of health regulations relating to female circumcision	KUPI (2022)

The data reveal four main tendencies. First, there is a gap between the strength of the evidence and the social vitality of the practice; the absence of an explicit Qur'anic basis and the weakness of the hadith commonly cited do not automatically eliminate the practice because it has been naturalised as a communal custom. Second, the language of "religion" functions as a device of legitimacy that binds tradition to public morality, allowing FGM/C to appear as an ethical and communal obligation associated with family honour and social conformity. Third, *'urf* is used as a basis for normalisation, yet only *'urf*

ṣaḥīḥ may properly be considered, whereas harmful traditions must be classified as *'urf sā'i'* and rejected. Fourth, the persistence of the practice is connected to patriarchal structures of power that position women's bodies as objects of socio-legal regulation, while women's experiences and losses tend to be subordinated within normative reasoning (Mustaqim, 2013; Sa'dan, 2016).

These findings imply that criticism of and efforts to end FGM/C are insufficient if they rely solely on health or human rights arguments, because the resilience of the practice derives from socio-religious legitimacy shaped through tradition and patriarchal interpretation. Theoretically, the key problem lies in the production of authority: fragile evidence remains effective because it is attached to inherited custom, validated by socio-religious authority, and sustained by communal moral norms. Practically, the consequence is the need for a reconstruction of religious discourse that breaks the sacralisation of harmful traditions, positions *'urf sā'i'* as a tradition that must be abandoned, and makes the prevention of harm and the upholding of human dignity the principal criteria of legal determination, in line with the direction of KUPI's critique in this article.

KUPI's Reconstruction of Fiqh through *Maqāṣid* and Hermeneutics Leads towards the Rejection of FGM/C

The findings of this study show that, within the KUPI framework, the rejection of FGM/C is not constructed merely through a simple affirmation of being "for" or "against" the practice, but through a reconstruction of fiqh reasoning that places *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah* and contextual hermeneutics as the principal benchmarks of legal validity. This reconstruction is clearly reflected in the decision of the Second KUPI Religious Deliberation, which determined that acts involving the cutting and injuring of female genitalia (P2GP) that cause harm and lack medical grounds are *haram*, accompanied by a mandate of collective responsibility for prevention and an obligation to use socio-religious as well as professional authority for the protection of women (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022). This formulation demonstrates an epistemic shift: legal determination no longer rests on claims of tradition or disputed textual authority, but on an assessment of *maṣlaḥah* and *mafsadah* measured through the ethical purposes of the sharīʿah, especially the protection of life, human dignity, and bodily integrity.

At the methodological level, KUPI's approach combines two mutually reinforcing instruments. First, contextual hermeneutics is employed to read texts and the fiqh tradition in historical and ethical terms, so that scriptural evidence is not treated as an automatic legitimisation of harmful practices. Second, *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah* functions as a teleological instrument of

evaluation that places the prevention of *mafsadah* as a priority, in line with contemporary *maqāṣid* approaches that emphasise its function as a basis for critique and reconstruction of legal reasoning when a practice produces harm (Auda, 2008). At the same time, KUPI positions women's experiences as a legitimate source of knowledge for reading the consequences of the practice and assessing harm in a more accountable manner, in line with scholarly tendencies that emphasise the authority of women's experience in interpreting religion and constructing arguments of justice (Fina and Wahyuni, 2022).

Table 3. Evidence of KUPI's reconstruction of fiqh leading towards the rejection of FGM/C

Aspect of reconstruction	**Data/indicator**	**Main source**
Legal determination	P2GP that causes harm and lacks medical grounds is determined to be haram	KUPI (2022)
Collective responsibility	All parties bear responsibility for preventing P2GP without medical grounds	KUPI (2022)
Obligation of protection	The use of social and professional authority to protect women from P2GP without medical grounds is positioned as an obligation	KUPI (2022)
Maqāṣid basis	Legal reasoning is directed towards the prevention of mafsadah and the protection of life and dignity	KUPI (2022); Auda (2008)
Critique of tradition	Harmful traditions are classified as 'urf sā'i' and cannot be legitimised	KUPI (2022)
Epistemic status of women's experience	Women's experience is treated as a basis for arguments of justice and for correcting biased interpretation	Fina dan Wahyuni (2022)

In summary, KUPI's reconstruction of fiqh leads towards the rejection of FGM/C because the standard of legal validity is shifted away from legitimacy based on habit and uncertain textual claims towards normative evaluation that can be justified through *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* and contextual hermeneutics. Within this framework, legal determination does not stop at the questions of "has it ever been practised?" or "is there a reference that may be invoked?", but is tested through the key *maqāṣid* questions: does the practice generate *maṣlaḥah* or rather *mafsadah*; does it safeguard life and

human dignity; and is it consistent with the principle of preventing harm? Because P2GP without medical grounds is understood as an act that entails risk and negates women's bodily integrity, the practice cannot be maintained as a religious norm.

The data reveal four main tendencies demonstrating the direction of KUPI's reconstruction of fiqh. First, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* is treated as a decisive evaluative framework rather than merely an ornamental element of argumentation; consequently, legal determination is guided by the *maṣlaḥah–mafsadah* test and by the objective of protecting life and dignity, so that fiqh moves from formal legalism towards reasoning grounded in ethical purpose (Auda, 2008; Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022). Second, contextual hermeneutics functions as a mechanism of control over literalist readings that may legitimise violence; texts and the fiqh tradition are re-read by placing historical-ethical context and the impact on female subjects as conditions of interpretive validity, rather than merely the accuracy of citation or conformity with a given authority (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022). Third, tradition (*'urf*) is not accepted as automatic legitimacy, but is subjected to normative testing through the distinction between *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* and *'urf sā'i'*; thus, customs that cause harm and degrade the dignity of women's bodies cannot be maintained merely because they are established or inherited, but must be rejected as harmful traditions (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022). Fourth, women's experiences are positioned as an epistemic basis in legal reasoning, so that evaluation of the practice is no longer abstract and androcentric; testimony, bodily experience, and psychosocial consequences are treated as relevant data for assessing harm and injustice, in line with approaches that affirm the authority of women's experience in religious interpretation and norm formation (Fina and Wahyuni, 2022).

These findings imply that an effective religious rejection of FGM/C requires a renewal of methods of fiqh reasoning, because the source of the practice's resilience lies not only in the lack of medical information, but also in normative legitimacy operating through tradition, authority, and textual interpretation. Theoretically, KUPI's reconstruction demonstrates that *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* can function as an internal corrective mechanism within the fiqh tradition: legal claims are tested not on the formality of references, but on their coherence with the ethical purposes of the sharī'ah, especially the prevention of *mafsadah* and the protection of life, dignity, and bodily integrity. At the same time, contextual hermeneutics serves as an epistemic safeguard that limits the selective or ahistorical use of texts to justify harmful practices, by placing historical-ethical context and the impact on female subjects as parameters of interpretive validity.

In practical terms, KUPI's decision broadens the basis of authority for preventing FGM/C because it does not stop at determining legal status, but transforms that determination into an instrument of social ethical governance. By classifying P2GP without medical grounds as *haram* while also affirming a mandate of collective responsibility, KUPI provides a reference point that may be used to shift community norms, strengthen the authority of religious leaders and educators in prevention, and build religious legitimacy for protective interventions at family and institutional levels. A further implication is that the discourse of preventing FGM/C gains a foundation more compatible with advocacy and religious education, because the argument for protection is no longer understood as an external pressure, but as a methodological consequence of fiqh reasoning grounded in *maqāṣid* and the ethics of preventing harm (Auda, 2008; Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022).

Discussion: The Legitimacy of FGM/C and the Reconstruction of Fiqh Grounded in Gender Justice

The findings of this study show that FGM/C in Islamic legal discourse is more appropriately understood as a problem of the production of normative legitimacy than merely as an issue of health, tradition, or human rights. The study demonstrates that the persistence of the practice is sustained not primarily by the strength of explicit evidence, but by the interrelation of the selective use of evidence, the normalisation of *'urf*, and the reinforcement of socio-religious authority. Accordingly, the central problem lies in how a problematic practice is able to continue circulating as a religious norm through epistemic mechanisms within fiqh, rather than simply in whether textual references exist.

These findings may be explained through the way religious authority operates within social space. Religious texts do not appear in a neutral form, but are always mediated by tradition, interpretation, and authoritative figures who determine which meanings are recognised as valid. For that reason, the legitimacy of FGM/C depends not principally on robust evidence, but on social processes that connect custom to religious language. When a practice is transmitted across generations and framed as part of the morality of women's bodies, it acquires normative force at the levels of family and community. The finding regarding the strong influence of "religious understanding" in family decisions indicates that religious language functions as an effective device of social justification, allowing a normatively weak practice to endure because it has been naturalised as a form of religious compliance (Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan, 2024).

These results reinforce the relevance of *maqāṣid al-sharīʻah* as a framework of normative evaluation. As *maqāṣid* theory makes clear, the validity of a norm does not end with the existence of a textual reference, but must be tested through the realisation of *maṣlaḥah* and the prevention of *mafsadah* (al-Tahir Ibn 'Ashur, 2006; Auda, 2008; Kamali, 2008). In the context of this study, the persistence of FGM/C reveals a tension between formal legalism and the ethical purposes of the sharīʻah. This finding is consistent with Auda's view that *maqāṣid* functions as an instrument of critique and reconstruction in relation to legal structures that appear formally valid but substantively produce harm (Auda, 2008). Accordingly, when FGM/C is tested against the parameters of protecting life, human dignity, and bodily integrity, its religious legitimacy is normatively weakened.

The findings of this study also underline the importance of contextual hermeneutics in reading the evidence employed in fiqh discourse on FGM/C. The central issue is not simply the existence of texts, but the way in which texts are used through the selective use of evidence and the detachment of transmitted reports from their historical and ethical context. In this regard, the approaches of Fazlur Rahman and Abdullah Saeed are particularly relevant, since both emphasise that the validity of interpretation must be tested by its capacity to preserve the general moral principles of the sharīʻah and to consider its ethical implications in contemporary situations (Rahman, 1982; Saeed, 2006). Thus, this study shows that literalist or ahistorical readings may become mechanisms for legitimising harmful practices, whereas contextual hermeneutics functions as a methodological control limiting the selective use of texts.

In addition, the findings reveal that the problem of FGM/C is also a problem of epistemic injustice in the production of religious knowledge. In androcentric fiqh, women's bodily experiences are often not granted adequate epistemic status, with the result that pain, trauma, stigma, and the loss of bodily autonomy are displaced by abstract normative language. Here, feminist epistemology helps explain that knowledge is always situated and shaped by relations of power (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1991). The concept of epistemic injustice further clarifies how women's experiences may be devalued or regarded as lacking credibility in the formation of norms (Fricker, 2007). Therefore, when KUPI's approach positions women's experiences as a legitimate source of knowledge, what occurs is not merely the addition of a women's perspective, but a transformation in the structure of validity of legal knowledge itself.

When compared with earlier studies, the findings of this research both continue and renew existing scholarship. They are consistent with studies explaining FGM/C as a practice reproduced through communal norms, family

honour, control of sexuality, and cultural transmission (Mustaqim, 2013; Mohammed, Hassan and Eyada, 2014; Sa'dan, 2016; Matanda *et al.*, 2023). They are also consistent with health and human rights scholarship emphasising the physical and psychological harms involved and the need for preventive intervention (Berg and Denison, 2012; Varol *et al.*, 2015; Mwendwa *et al.*, 2020). However, the novelty of this study lies in its focus on the mechanisms of religious legitimacy themselves, namely how the selective use of evidence, the normalisation of *'urf*, and socio-religious authority work together in producing the "religious" status of FGM/C. In addition, this study positions KUPI not merely as a normative anti-violence actor, but as an epistemological model for the reconstruction of fiqh working from within the Islamic legal tradition (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022; Hidayatulloh and Syifa, 2023; Arwani and Hannase, 2024).

In this context, KUPI's reconstruction of fiqh carries particular significance. KUPI shows that rejection of harmful P2GP without medical grounds is not built solely through moral opposition, but through a shift in the basis of legal validity: from legitimacy grounded in custom and uncertain textual claims towards normative evaluation based on *maqāṣid*, contextual hermeneutics, and women's experiences as an epistemic foundation (Auda, 2008; Fina and Wahyuni, 2022; Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022). This means that such rejection is a methodological consequence of a fiqh that places the protection of life, dignity, and bodily integrity at its centre. At this point, KUPI demonstrates that the Islamic legal tradition possesses an internal capacity for correcting patriarchal forms of legitimacy.

The implications of this study are both theoretical and practical. Theoretically, it confirms that gender justice in fiqh is not merely a matter of the content of legal rulings, but also of the structure of knowledge itself: who has authority to interpret, whose experiences are recognised, and what criteria are used to determine the validity of norms. Practically, the prevention of FGM/C cannot rely solely on state regulation or public health arguments, because the resilience of the practice lies in its socio-religious legitimacy. For this reason, religious education must integrate *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* and contextual hermeneutics; training for religious leaders and educators must emphasise the prevention of *mafsadah* and the protection of women's bodily integrity; and the experiences of women survivors must be brought forward as legitimate sources of knowledge in educational forums, advocacy, and religious decision-making. Within this framework, KUPI's approach provides a strong foundation for synergy between religious authorities, educational institutions, healthcare services, and state policy in efforts to prevent FGM/C more effectively and more justly (Auda, 2008; Fina and Wahyuni, 2022; Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia, 2022)

Conclusion

This study shows that the problem of FGM/C in Islamic legal discourse lies not primarily in the relative strength or weakness of textual references as such, but in the way religious legitimacy is produced through the selective use of evidence, the normalisation of *'urf*, and the reinforcement of socio-religious authority. The principal finding of this study confirms that the persistence of FGM/C in many Muslim communities is more appropriately understood as the result of a socio-cultural construction legitimised by patriarchal readings and the naturalisation of tradition, rather than as a consequence of any explicit and authoritative textual mandate. Within this framework, KUPI's critical-transformative approach demonstrates that when legal reasoning is tested through *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, read through contextual hermeneutics, and opened to women's lived experiences as a legitimate source of knowledge, the normative legitimacy of practices that cause harm is weakened and moves towards rejection.

The scholarly contribution of this study lies in its effort to shift the focus of analysis away from debates over medical benefit or the dichotomy between religion and human rights towards the epistemology of Islamic law itself, namely how a practice acquires "religious" status, how fiqh authority is formed, and how androcentric structures of knowledge may be corrected from within the Islamic tradition. This study proposes that gender justice in fiqh is not concerned solely with the content of legal rulings, but also with the process of knowledge production: who has the authority to interpret, what criteria are used to assess the validity of norms, and whose experiences are recognised as a basis for legal consideration. In this context, the study positions KUPI not merely as a normative anti-violence actor, but as a model of protection-based fiqh reconstruction that integrates *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, contextual hermeneutics, and feminist epistemology in the formation of Islamic legal argumentation that is more accountable to harm, bodily integrity, and human dignity.

Nevertheless, this study has its limitations. As a library-based study, the analysis focuses on discursive and normative dimensions and therefore does not directly address how the legitimacy of FGM/C is negotiated, accepted, or rejected in social practice at the levels of community, family, and religious institutions. Nor does it examine in depth the variation in responses across regions, religious organisations, or authoritative actors in Indonesia, nor does it combine fiqh analysis with empirical field data concerning the experiences of survivors, healthcare professionals, and religious leaders. For this reason, future research needs to develop a more comprehensive approach through fieldwork, in-depth interviews, community ethnography, or comparative

analysis across religious authorities, in order to show in greater detail how mechanisms of legitimacy operate in practice and how models of fiqh reconstruction grounded in gender justice may be operationalised more broadly in efforts to prevent FGM/C.

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Sufi Hermeneutics of Serat Dewa Ruci in the Age of Information Overload

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menafsirkan kembali Serat Dewa Ruci sebagai teks simbolik-spiritual yang relevan bagi pemahaman problem literasi digital kontemporer, khususnya dalam situasi information overload, misinformasi, dan post-truth. Penelitian ini penting dilakukan karena kajian tentang Serat Dewa Ruci, sufisme Islam, dan literasi digital selama ini cenderung berkembang secara terpisah, sehingga belum banyak pembacaan integratif yang mempertemukan ketiganya dalam satu kerangka analitis. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif berbasis studi pustaka dengan unit analisis berupa teks Serat Dewa Ruci. Data dikumpulkan melalui studi dokumentasi terhadap sumber primer dan sekunder, kemudian dianalisis menggunakan pendekatan hermeneutik dan semiotik untuk menafsirkan struktur simbolik, makna spiritual, dan relevansi kontekstualnya. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perjalanan Bima dibangun sebagai tahapan simbolik yang bergerak dari pencarian lahiriah menuju penyingkapan batiniah, sedangkan perjumpaannya dengan Dewa Ruci membentuk disiplin epistemik yang menekankan kerendahan hati, pendalaman diri, kemampuan menafsirkan tanda, dan kesiapan etis dalam menerima kebenaran. Dalam konteks kontemporer, struktur simbolik tersebut memiliki relevansi yang kuat bagi penguatan literasi digital karena menawarkan model pengetahuan yang menekankan kehati-hatian, verifikasi, kejernihan tafsir, dan tanggung jawab etis. Implikasi penelitian ini adalah perlunya pengembangan literasi digital yang tidak berhenti pada kecakapan teknis, tetapi juga mencakup dimensi hermeneutik, etik, dan spiritual. Orisinalitas penelitian ini terletak pada upayanya mempertemukan Serat Dewa Ruci sebagai teks budaya Jawa, sufisme Islam sebagai kerangka spiritual-epistemik, dan literasi digital sebagai problem pengetahuan kontemporer dalam satu pembacaan integratif.

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Kata Kunci: Serat Dewa Ruci; sufisme; literasi digital; hermeneutika; epistemik.

Abstract

This study aims to reinterpret Serat Dewa Ruci as a symbolic-spiritual text that is relevant to understanding contemporary problems of digital literacy, particularly in situations of information overload, misinformation, and post-truth. The study is significant because scholarship on Serat Dewa Ruci, Islamic Sufism, and digital literacy has largely developed in separate directions, with few integrative readings that bring these three domains into a single analytical framework. This research employs a qualitative library-based approach, with Serat Dewa Ruci as the primary unit of analysis. Data were collected through documentary study of primary and secondary sources and were analysed using hermeneutic and semiotic approaches in order to interpret the text's symbolic structure, spiritual meaning, and contextual relevance. The findings show that Bima's journey is constructed as a symbolic progression from outward searching to inward disclosure, while his encounter with Dewa Ruci forms an epistemic discipline that emphasises humility, inward deepening, the ability to interpret signs, and ethical readiness in receiving truth. In the contemporary context, this symbolic structure has strong relevance for strengthening digital literacy, as it offers a model of knowledge grounded in caution, verification, clarity of interpretation, and ethical responsibility. The implication of this study is that digital literacy should be developed not merely as a technical competence, but also as a hermeneutic, ethical, and spiritual practice. The originality of this research lies in its effort to bring together Serat Dewa Ruci as a text of Javanese culture, Islamic Sufism as a spiritual-epistemic framework, and digital literacy as a contemporary problem of knowledge within a single integrative reading.

Keyword: Serat Dewa Ruci; Sufism; Digital Literacy; Hermeneutics; Epistemics

Introduction

The expansion of digital space has transformed the ways in which people access, produce, and trust knowledge. In 2024, the number of global internet users reached 5.5 billion, or approximately 68% of the world's population, indicating that social life is becoming ever more deeply intertwined with the rapid and extensive flow of digital information. Yet the expansion of access does not automatically lead to greater clarity of knowledge. The World Economic Forum identifies misinformation and disinformation as among the most serious short-term risks to social cohesion and governance, while UNESCO emphasises that media and information literacy is essential if societies are to assess, filter, and respond to information critically and ethically. In this context, the central problem facing digital society is not merely the abundance of information, but also the limited capacity to

distinguish knowledge from manipulation, sensation, and false certainty. This situation makes the search for ethical and epistemic models capable of addressing the overflow of information an urgent necessity, including through renewed engagements with cultural and spiritual sources that have not yet been widely connected to the problems of contemporary digital literacy.

Existing scholarship on Serat Dewa Ruci and related themes may be mapped into three broad tendencies. First, a number of studies approach Dewa Ruci as a Javanese literary-mystical text that narrates the human journey towards self-perfection, the discovery of the essence of life, and the symbolic relationship between Bima, Dewa Ruci, and the cosmos (Koentjaraningrat, 1994; Siswoharsojo, 1996; Padnobo, 2023). More recent developments also suggest that Dewa Ruci is no longer understood solely as symbolic heritage, but increasingly as a source of educational values that can be actualised through contemporary media, such as graphic narratives or comics, to support character education among younger generations (Murti, Gunarhadi and Winarno, 2020; Adi, 2023b; Adi and Mustafa, 2025). Second, other studies situate Dewa Ruci within the horizon of Islamic Sufism by emphasising concepts such as suluk, tariqat, haqiqat, ma'rifat, wahdat al-wujud, and the search for the insan kamil. Within this perspective, Bima's story is understood as an allegory of the inward journey towards self-knowledge, purification of the soul, and proximity to God (Nasr, 1989; Nasuhi, 2009; Rahayu, 2020). Third, there has been a growing body of scholarship on digital literacy, information overload, filter bubbles, misinformation, and post-truth, which positions digital space as a site of contemporary epistemic problems, where the principal challenge lies not simply in access to information, but in the ability to verify sources, read context, recognise bias, and act ethically within the circulation of digital knowledge (Pariser, 2011; UNESCO, 2011; Floridi, 2016; Wardle and Derakhshan, 2017).

Although these three strands of scholarship provide an important foundation, the connections between them remain relatively weak. Studies of Dewa Ruci generally remain confined to literary, symbolic, educational, or mystical readings; Sufi studies tend to emphasise spirituality and cultural-religious harmonisation; while digital literacy scholarship has developed primarily within the frameworks of media studies, communication, and modern information ethics. As a result, there have been few explicit attempts to bring together Serat Dewa Ruci as a text of Javanese culture, Islamic Sufism as a framework of spiritual meaning, and digital literacy as a contemporary epistemic problem within a single integrated analytical framework. The research gap, therefore, lies not in the absence of studies on Dewa Ruci, Sufism, or digital literacy as separate fields, but in the absence of an

integrative reading that interprets Serat Dewa Ruci simultaneously as a symbolic narrative, a spiritual text, and an ethical-epistemic resource for addressing the challenges of knowledge in the digital age.

Against this backdrop, the present study seeks to reinterpret Serat Dewa Ruci through hermeneutic and semiotic approaches in order to explain its relevance as an ethical-spiritual framework for understanding the problems of digital literacy amid conditions of information overload and post-truth. More specifically, the study aims to map the symbolic stages of Bima's spiritual journey, analyse how Bima's encounter with Dewa Ruci forms a particular epistemic discipline, and explain how this symbolic structure may be read contextually in response to the challenges of knowledge in contemporary digital space. Building on these aims, this article argues that Serat Dewa Ruci not only represents a mystical journey towards the highest form of knowledge, but also offers an ethical and epistemic model for how human beings ought to seek, filter, interpret, and receive truth. The structure of Bima's journey (from the search for tirta pawitra, through experiences of failure, the descent into the ocean, and finally the encounter with Dewa Ruci) demonstrates that true knowledge is not attained through rapid, superficial, and outward access, but through disciplined practice, inward deepening, symbolic interpretation, and inner transformation. On this basis, Serat Dewa Ruci may be read as a cultural-spiritual framework of continuing relevance for the cultivation of digital literacy, understood not merely as the technical ability to access information, but as a practice grounded in caution, verification, interpretive clarity, self-restraint, and ethical responsibility in the face of information overload, misinformation, and false certainty in the digital age.

Within the conceptual framework of this study, Serat Dewa Ruci is understood as a symbolic-spiritual narrative. A number of studies have shown that this text does not merely recount a wayang story, but also contains a profound symbolic and spiritual structure. Padnobo (2023) argues that the Dewa Ruci episode represents the individual human journey towards encountering God, while Setyawan (2018) demonstrates that the story of Dewaruci emphasises the importance of the inner self as the core of human existence and interprets the "water of life" as a symbol of union with the Divine. Within a broader horizon, Sahlan and Fatchan (2016) show that the Dewaruci story is the product of a synthesis between Javanese culture and Islamic Sufism. It therefore cannot be understood merely as a heroic tale, but rather as a symbolic medium containing teachings on disciplined conduct, knowledge, and the search for the meaning of life. Accordingly, Serat Dewa Ruci may be conceptualised as a text that conveys its teachings through characters, spaces, and events whose significance extends beyond their literal

function. As a concept, this symbolic-spiritual narrative encompasses the dimension of symbolic journeying, the figurative-symbolic dimension, and the teleological dimension — namely, a trajectory directed not towards the possession of material objects, but towards the transformation of the subject and the attainment of wisdom (Adi, 2023a; Aulia *et al.*, 2024).

The second concept underpinning this study is Sufism as a spiritual-epistemic framework. Sufism is generally understood as a spiritual path within Islam that emphasises purification of the soul, inward deepening, and the attainment of ma'rifat as a deeper form of knowledge of the self and of God. Within this horizon, knowledge is understood not merely as the accumulation of information, but as a process that transforms the knowing subject. Nasr (1989) argues that, within the spiritual tradition, knowledge is always related to the sacred and to self-perfection. In the context of Dewa Ruci, Setyawan (2018) shows that the story of Dewaruci emphasises the importance of the inner self as the essence of human existence, while Sahlan and Fatchan (2023) interpret it as a synthesis of Javanese mysticism and Islamic Sufism. Sufism is therefore understood here not simply as a body of mystical teachings, but as a framework for explaining how truth is sought, experienced, and received through suluk, tazkiyah, the deepening of interiority, and ma'rifat as transformative knowledge (Aulia *et al.*, 2024).

The third concept is digital literacy as an epistemic and ethical practice. Digital literacy can no longer be understood merely as the technical ability to use devices or access information, but must also be seen as the capacity to locate, evaluate, verify, interpret, and produce information critically and responsibly. UNESCO defines media and information literacy as a set of competencies that enables individuals to access, analyse, evaluate, and create information across multiple platforms, while also recognising bias, misinformation, and hate speech in digital spaces (UNESCO, 2011). This understanding is reinforced by Sirlin et al. (2021), who demonstrate that digital literacy is associated with the ability to make more accurate judgements about accuracy. In this study, digital literacy is understood through three principal elements: evaluative-critical capacity, interpretive capacity, and ethical-reflective capacity. In this context, information overload, filter bubbles, and post-truth may be understood as forms of contemporary epistemic crisis that require digital literacy to be conceived not merely as a technical competence, but as a critical, hermeneutic, and ethical capacity for responding to the flood of information (Pariser, 2011; Wardle and Derakhshan, 2017).

This study employs a qualitative method based on library research, with Serat Dewa Ruci as the unit of analysis, treated as a symbolic text and read in relation to Islamic Sufism and contemporary digital literacy. This method is

appropriate because the study is concerned with the interpretation of meaning, symbolic structure, and the conceptual relevance of the text, rather than with the measurement of empirical data (Creswell, 2013). The data sources consist of primary data in the form of the text of Serat Dewa Ruci and secondary data in the form of literature on the symbolism of Dewa Ruci, Sufism, hermeneutics, semiotics, and digital literacy. Data were collected through documentary study and subsequently analysed using a hermeneutic approach to interpret the meaning of the text contextually, alongside a semiotic approach to examine signs, symbols, and patterns of meaning within the narrative (Horngren, Datar and Foster, 2008). The analysis proceeded through the stages of identifying narrative and symbolic elements, interpreting their meanings, relating them to concepts in Sufism, and examining their relevance to the problems of knowledge in the digital age (Corak, 2013).

Results and Discussion

Symbolic Stages in Bima's Spiritual Journey

The first finding of this study shows that Bima's journey in *Serat Dewa Ruci* is constructed as a gradual and symbolic structure of spiritual experience, rather than merely as the plot of a heroic adventure. Based on a reading of the text's narrative structure, the story unfolds through three principal sequences: the command to seek *tirta pawitra*, the encounter with Dewa Ruci together with the visionary experience within him, and the reception of the highest teachings concerning *Sukma* and *pramana* (Padnobo, 2023). This arrangement indicates that the narrative does not end with the motif of seeking holy water as an outward object, but is directed instead towards the disclosure of increasingly profound inner meaning. At the initial stage, Bima's orientation remains external: he carries out his teacher's command and understands *tirta pawitra* as something that must be found outside himself. However, the failure of his search on Mount Candramuka marks the fact that truth is not granted instantaneously, but must be approached through trial, correction, and the deepening of spiritual discipline. The shift of the journey towards the ocean signals an important change in its symbolic structure, since the ocean appears not merely as a geographical setting, but as a liminal space marking the transition from outward searching to inward knowledge. The culmination of this experience occurs when Bima encounters Dewa Ruci, enters into him, and then witnesses light, *pancamaya*, the ivory puppet, colours, and other cosmic elements that signify the disclosure of the essence of the self. In a Sufi reading, this experience no longer points to the search for a sacred object, but rather to the

journey towards self-knowledge and the deepening of inward awareness (Nasuhi, 2009). For this reason, the end of the story is marked not by the successful retrieval of a physical object, but by a transformation of perspective and the attainment of wisdom. Thus, the structure of Bima's journey reveals a consistent pattern of command, trial, deepening, disclosure, and transformation, so that *Serat Dewa Ruci* may be read as a representation of the spiritual stages through which human beings move from outward knowledge towards a more essential form of awareness.

To clarify this structure, the symbolic stages of Bima's journey may be mapped as follows. The table shows that the narrative development in *Serat Dewa Ruci* moves from the initiation of the quest to inward transformation, so that each stage functions not merely as an episode in the story, but as an interconnected layer of spiritual meaning.

Table 1. Symbolic Stages in Bima's Spiritual Journey

Symbolic stage	**Main narrative event**	**Textual indication**	**Analytical meaning**
Initiation of the quest	Bima receives Resi Durna's command to seek tirta pawitra	The narrative opens with the teacher's command and the task of seeking holy water	This stage indicates that the spiritual journey begins through authority, guidance, and discipline, rather than through spontaneous individual impulse
Initial trial and correction	The search on Mount Candramuka does not yield tirta pawitra and instead confronts Bima with obstacles	Initial failure forms part of the plot before disclosure occurs	Truth is not presented instantly; failure functions as a mechanism of testing, correction, and the deepening of spiritual discipline
Deepening towards the inner realm	The journey shifts from the mountain to the ocean	The ocean appears as a dangerous, deep, and liminal space	This spatial shift signifies movement from outward searching to inward depth; the ocean symbolises a domain of knowledge inaccessible to surface perception
Encounter with the centre of knowledge	Bima meets Dewa Ruci and enters into him	The encounter with a small figure resembling himself becomes the turning point of the journey	This stage marks the discovery that the object of the quest is no longer outside the self, but found through the inward journey
Visionary disclosure	Bima witnesses light, pancamaya, the ivory puppet, colours, and other cosmic elements	The narrative presents a visual-symbolic experience that is not materially ordinary	The knowledge obtained is not an object, but an experience of disclosure and a transformation in the way reality is perceived

Transformation and the attainment of wisdom	Bima receives teachings concerning Sukma and pramana, and returns without any physical object	The story ends with instruction and a new awareness	The purpose of the journey is self-transformation and the attainment of wisdom, not possession of a sacred object

The table shows that Bima's journey is arranged progressively, moving from command, trial, and deepening towards disclosure and transformation. More specifically, this finding demonstrates that *Serat Dewa Ruci* constructs Bima's journey as a gradual shift from outward orientation to inward disclosure. At the beginning of the narrative, the search for *tirta pawitra* is still understood within an objective and external framework, as though truth exists outside the self and may be attained through the exploration of physical space. Yet the development of the story reveals a reversal of this orientation. Mount Candramuka, the ocean, and the body of Dewa Ruci function not merely as narrative settings, but as symbolic nodes marking successive levels of spiritual deepening. Accordingly, the central meaning of the story lies not in the successful acquisition of holy water as an object, but in the transformation of the seeking subject. In this sense, Bima's journey appears as a process of purification of orientation: from the search for objects to the search for meaning, from movement outward to movement inward, and from surface knowledge to a more essential awareness.

A reading of the textual data reveals at least four principal tendencies. First, the spiritual journey always begins with a structure of authority and guidance. Bima enters the path of seeking not through a wholly autonomous will, but through the command of his teacher. This indicates that the path towards knowledge is presented from the outset as a discipline requiring obedience, guidance, and readiness to undergo a process. Second, the narrative positions trial as the precondition of disclosure. The failed search on Mount Candramuka cannot be read as a mere incidental episode, but as a mechanism of inward formation that affirms truth is not available instantaneously. Obstacles, delay, and correction are integral to the journey towards deeper understanding. Third, there is a consistent pattern of movement from external space to internal space. The progression from mountain to ocean, and then into the body of Dewa Ruci, reveals a clear symbolic intensification: the further Bima moves, the deeper the field of experience he must enter. Fourth, the climax of the narrative is marked not by mastery over a sacred object, but by a visionary experience that transforms the mode of knowing. Light, *pancamaya*, the ivory puppet, colours, and *pramana* signify that the summit of the journey takes the form of disclosure rather than possession.

These four patterns indicate that Bima's journey is structured as a systematic model of spiritual initiation. The stage of command marks the beginning of disciplined practice; the stage of trial tests the readiness of the subject; the stage of deepening requires the courage to enter an uncertain realm; and the stage of disclosure produces a fundamental change in consciousness. For this reason, the structure of the story cannot be understood as a linear narrative about the search for a sacred object, but rather as a symbolic schema of self-formation. What changes in the course of the journey is not only the location of the search, but also Bima's epistemic position as seeker: from a subject who assumes that truth lies outside himself to a subject who experiences that true knowledge requires inward deepening.

The significance of this finding lies in the fact that *Serat Dewa Ruci* presents the search for truth as a process of spiritual transformation requiring discipline, trial, and a change in perspective. The text shows that the highest knowledge is not attained through the accumulation of objects or information, but through the maturation of the inner self that enables the subject to perceive reality more clearly. In this sense, Bima's journey may be read as a symbolic representation of the transition from outward knowledge to a deeper reflective awareness. This finding also affirms that *Serat Dewa Ruci* is not merely a symbolically rich Javanese mystical narrative, but also a text that systematically organises the stages of seeking, testing, disclosure, and transformation. On this basis, the results of this section provide an important foundation for the following analysis, namely that Bima's encounter with Dewa Ruci is not only a mystical event, but also a moment in the formation of a more mature discipline of knowledge.

Dewa Ruci and the Formation of Epistemic Discipline

The second finding of this study shows that Bima's encounter with Dewa Ruci marks a fundamental change in the way knowledge is understood and attained. Whereas in the earlier stage the search was still oriented towards *tirta pawitra* as an object located outside the self, at this stage the narrative shifts the centre of the search from the external object to the formation of the subject deemed worthy of receiving truth. The textual data show that Bima does not receive an answer in the form of a sacred object that may be brought home; rather, he is brought face to face with Dewa Ruci, a small figure resembling himself, and is then permitted to enter into Dewa Ruci's body in order to witness light, *pancamaya*, the ivory puppet, colours, and *pramana* (Padnobo, 2023). This sequence indicates that the highest knowledge in *Serat Dewa Ruci* is not presented as literal information readily available to the seeker, but as a disclosure that requires transformation on the part of the one

who seeks. In a Sufi reading, this pattern accords with the view that true knowledge does not arise merely from the accumulation of information, but from purification of the inner self, self-knowledge, and readiness to receive truth gradually (Nasr, 1989; Nasuhi, 2009).

To clarify this structure, the elements involved in the formation of epistemic discipline in Bima's encounter with Dewa Ruci may be mapped as follows.

Table 2. Elements in the Formation of Epistemic Discipline in Bima's Encounter with Dewa Ruci

Symbolic element	**Narrative event**	**Textual indication**	**Epistemic function**
Dewa Ruci as a small figure	Bima encounters a small figure resembling himself	Truth appears in a simple form, outwardly unremarkable	Indicates that true knowledge requires epistemic humility and a willingness to move beyond surface judgement
Entering Dewa Ruci's body	Bima is permitted to enter into Dewa Ruci	The direction of the search shifts from outside to inside	Marks that knowledge is attained not through mastery of external objects, but through inward deepening
Visionary experience	Bima witnesses light, pancamaya, the ivory puppet, colours, and other cosmic elements	Knowledge appears in symbolic form rather than as literal information	Shows that knowing requires inward clarity and the capacity to interpret meaning behind signs
Teaching concerning Sukma and pramana	Dewa Ruci imparts the highest teaching concerning the core of life	Truth is linked to the animating principle, not to an object to be possessed	Affirms that the highest knowledge is existential and transformative
Trial before disclosure	Bima reaches knowledge only after failure, danger, and guidance	The path to knowledge unfolds through process	Indicates that epistemic discipline requires patience, correction, and ethical readiness

The table shows that Bima's encounter with Dewa Ruci cannot be understood merely as a mystical episode, but rather as a sequence through which a particular mode of knowing is formed. The central issue in this narrative is not simply where truth is located, but how the subject is prepared to receive it. Dewa Ruci does not merely give knowledge to Bima; he forms Bima into someone worthy of knowing. Thus, the essence of this experience lies not simply in what Bima sees, but in how he is guided into a new mode of knowing.

Across the data, at least four major patterns emerge. First, the narrative affirms the importance of epistemic humility. Bima, who in many parts of the story appears as a strong and heroic figure, reaches knowledge precisely through an encounter with a small figure who outwardly appears simple. This pattern shows that outward measures cannot serve as the primary basis for recognising truth. Second, true knowledge in this text is attained through the deepening of interiority. Bima's movement from the outer world into the body of Dewa Ruci signifies that the process of knowing requires a reversal of orientation: from mastery over the external world to recognition of the depth of the self. Third, the narrative presents knowledge through symbols and visions, not through flat and literal propositions. Light, *pancamaya*, the ivory puppet, colours, and *pramana* indicate that truth does not come as raw data, but as experience that must be read, interpreted, and inwardly appropriated. Fourth, the path to knowledge is built through trial, guidance, and ethical maturation. Bima does not attain disclosure instantly; he first passes through failure, threat, and direction, signifying that knowledge requires discipline rather than mere curiosity.

These four patterns show that *Serat Dewa Ruci* proposes a distinctive model of epistemic discipline. Knowledge is not understood as the accumulation of information or simply the addition of content to the mind, but as the result of the ordering of the knowing subject. In this model, the quality of knowledge is closely bound to the quality of the seeker's inner life. The more ordered a person's inward orientation, the more open that person becomes to receiving truth with clarity. Accordingly, Bima's encounter with Dewa Ruci may be read as the moment when seeking is transformed into epistemic discipline: from merely searching for answers to the formation of a mode of knowing that is humble, reflective, and ready to receive disclosure.

The significance of this finding lies in the fact that *Serat Dewa Ruci* offers not only symbols of spirituality, but also an ethics of seeking knowledge. Truth is not available to the subject who is hasty, self-satisfied, or confined to the surface, but to the subject willing to undergo process, be guided through symbols, and be transformed through inward experience. On this basis, Dewa Ruci may be read not only as a mystical figure, but also as a figure who forms epistemic adab. This finding provides the basis for the next section, because once this epistemic discipline becomes visible in the structure of Bima's encounter with Dewa Ruci, its relevance to the challenges of contemporary digital literacy can be explained more forcefully.

The Contemporary Relevance of Dewa Ruci for Digital Literacy

The third finding of this study shows that the symbolic structure and epistemic discipline found in *Serat Dewa Ruci* have strong relevance for

understanding the challenges of contemporary digital literacy. This relevance arises not because the text speaks directly about technology, but because it offers an ethical and epistemic model of how human beings ought to confront the overflow of signs, information, and truth claims. If the previous section showed that Bima's encounter with Dewa Ruci shapes a more ordered mode of knowing, this section shows that the same pattern corresponds closely to present-day digital problems, particularly the tendency to consume information rapidly, superficially, reactively, and without adequate verification. In this context, *Serat Dewa Ruci* may be read as a text that models the need for pause, discernment, depth, and self-restraint in the face of an abundant flow of information.

This correspondence is visible in several principal elements. First, Bima's initial search for *tirta pawitra* may be read as analogous to the tendency of the digital subject to seek "truth" as something immediately available outside the self, as though it need only be found, clicked, or taken from the surface. Second, the failure on Mount Candramuka shows that a search still grounded in outward orientation is easily led astray, which in the digital context may be aligned with vulnerability to misinformation, hoaxes, and claims that appear convincing but remain untested. Third, the shift of the journey towards the ocean signals the necessity of entering into depth, that is, the capacity not to remain at the surface of information. Fourth, Bima's experience of seeing light, *pancamaya*, colours, and *pramana* affirms that reality cannot always be read literally; it requires clarity, interpretation, and the ability to distinguish meaning behind signs. Thus, the relevance of Dewa Ruci for digital literacy lies in its capacity to provide a symbolic model for how subjects may confront the flood of information without drowning in surface appearances, speed, and false certainty.

To clarify this finding, the relationship between the symbolic structure of *Serat Dewa Ruci* and the challenges of digital literacy may be mapped as follows.

Table 3. The Relevance of the Symbolic Structure of Dewa Ruci for Contemporary Digital Literacy

Element in Serat Dewa Ruci	**Symbolic meaning**	**Related digital challenge**	**Implication for digital literacy**
Search for tirta pawitra	The impulse to seek truth or clarity	Rapid and instantaneous information seeking	Digital literacy requires awareness that not everything immediately available is identical with truth
Failure on Mount Candramuka	Misdirection in the early stage of the quest	Vulnerability to hoaxes,	Users need verification, correction, and

		misinformation, and surface-level bias	vigilance towards information that appears convincing
Ocean as liminal space	Depth, risk, and a domain beyond surface perception	Information overload and the complexity of information flows	Digital literacy requires the ability to filter, slow down responses, and enter context more deeply
Dewa Ruci as a small figure	Truth does not always appear in striking form	The dominance of appearance, sensation, and popularity in digital space	Users need to move beyond measures of virality, popularity, and outward packaging when assessing information
Visionary experience: light, pancamaya, colours, pramana	Knowledge comes through disclosure and interpretation	Digital information is often fragmentary, symbolic, and easily misread	Digital literacy requires interpretive clarity, reflection, and the ability to read meaning behind signs
Bima's transformation	True knowledge transforms the subject	Information consumption without change in attitude or ethics	Digital literacy should not end with access to information, but should cultivate wisdom in responding to it

The table shows that the relevance of *Serat Dewa Ruci* to digital literacy is neither artificial nor forced, but emerges from a correspondence of pattern between the symbolic structure of the text and the epistemic problems of the digital world. Bima's story shows that the search for truth is insufficient if conducted merely by moving quickly towards what appears nearest or clearest on the surface. Rather, such a search requires the ability to suspend response, to accept the possibility of error, to enter into depth, and to interpret signs with greater clarity. In the digital context, this pattern suggests that literacy cannot be understood solely as the technical ability to access information, but must also involve reflective and ethical qualities in one's treatment of information itself.

Across the data, at least four major patterns may be identified. First, there is a correspondence between the search for an object outside the self in the early stages of Bima's journey and the tendency of digital subjects to treat information as a commodity that need only be sought, collected, and consumed. This pattern shows that the central problem of digital literacy is not merely a lack of information, but rather the way information is understood as complete at the level of access alone. Second, the narrative of Dewa Ruci affirms the importance of verification through trial and correction. Bima's initial failure shows that the search for truth requires a corrective

process, which in the digital context means the need for a critical attitude towards hoaxes, misinformation, narrative manipulation, and unverified claims. Third, there is a strong emphasis on depth amid the overflow of signs. The ocean, light, colours, and *pramana* show that reality cannot be read only at the level of the surface. This corresponds to a digital environment filled with fragments of information, visual snippets, sensational headlines, and rapid flows that often strip away context. Fourth, the text shows that the ultimate goal of knowledge is the transformation of the subject, not merely the possession of information. Bima returns not with an object, but with wisdom; similarly, mature digital literacy should not stop at the quantity of information accessed, but should culminate in the capacity to respond wisely, with self-restraint and responsibility.

These four patterns indicate that *Serat Dewa Ruci* provides a symbolic framework relevant to understanding digital literacy as an epistemic and ethical practice. Knowledge in digital space cannot be safeguarded merely through speed of access or abundance of sources, but through the ordering of the subject who encounters information. In this model, the capacities to filter, suspend reaction, examine context, and read meaning behind representations become part of a discipline of knowledge. Accordingly, this finding shows that the values formed in Bima's journey, such as caution, depth, clarity, and self-transformation, may be read as cultural-spiritual foundations for strengthening digital literacy.

The significance of this finding is that *Serat Dewa Ruci* allows digital literacy to be understood beyond the mastery of technical skills. The text shows that the fundamental issue in confronting the flow of information is not merely how to access more of it, but how to know more truthfully. In this sense, Dewa Ruci offers an orientation in which clarity of knowledge requires inward discipline, caution in receiving signs, and readiness to be transformed through the process of knowing. Thus, the symbolic wisdom of *Serat Dewa Ruci* remains relevant in the contemporary situation, particularly when digital space is increasingly characterised by acceleration, false certainty, bias, and an overflow of information unaccompanied by depth of understanding.

Discussion: *Serat Dewa Ruci*, Epistemic Discipline, and Digital Literacy

The findings of this study show that *Serat Dewa Ruci* may be read not only as a Javanese mystical narrative, but also as a symbolic structure that organises the stages of the search for truth, the formation of epistemic discipline, and its ethical relevance to contemporary digital literacy. The first finding demonstrates that Bima's journey is constructed as a symbolic progression moving from outward searching to inward disclosure. The

second finding shows that the encounter with Dewa Ruci shifts the centre of knowledge from the external object to the formation of the subject worthy of knowing. The third finding demonstrates that the symbolic structure and epistemic discipline within the story correspond strongly to the challenges of today's digital environment, particularly information overload, misinformation, filter bubbles, and post-truth. Taken together, these results affirm that *Serat Dewa Ruci* contains a model of knowledge that does not end with the search for information, but leads towards self-formation, clarity of interpretation, and ethical responsibility in receiving truth.

From an explanatory perspective, these findings emerge because the text of *Serat Dewa Ruci* operates through symbolic rather than informational-literal logic. Through a semiotic approach, elements such as *tirta pawitra*, Mount Candramuka, the ocean, the body of Dewa Ruci, light, *pancamaya*, and *pramana* may be read not merely as elements of the story, but as signs that organise a process of deepening meaning. Meanwhile, the hermeneutic approach allows the text to be read contextually, so that the spiritual meanings contained within it do not remain confined to the horizon of traditional Javanese culture, but may be brought into dialogue with the problems of knowledge in the digital age. Within the framework of Sufi theory, Bima's journey may be understood as a form of *suluk*, that is, an inward path requiring trial, purification of orientation, the deepening of interiority, and ultimately *ma'rifat* as a form of knowledge that transforms the subject. For this reason, the findings of this study show that the relationship between the symbolism of Dewa Ruci and digital literacy is not incidental, but structural. Both are concerned with the problem of how human beings move from surface to depth, from the desire to possess to the capacity to interpret, and from access to wisdom.

In comparison with previous research, the present findings reveal both continuity and novelty. Padnobo (2023), and Abbas et al. (2024) have shown that Dewa Ruci is a text rich in symbolic and spiritual meaning. Sahlan and Fatchan (2023) likewise affirm that the story of *Dewaruci* is a synthesis of Javanese culture and Islamic Sufism. On the other hand, studies by Adi (2023b) as well as Adi and Mustafa (2025) show that Dewa Ruci may be actualised in contemporary media as a source of character education. However, these studies generally continue to situate Dewa Ruci within literary, mystical, pedagogical, or cultural-religious horizons. The novelty of the present study lies in its effort to bring together a symbolic reading of *Serat Dewa Ruci*, a Sufi framework for the formation of knowledge, and the problem of digital literacy as a contemporary epistemic crisis. In other words, this article not only interprets Dewa Ruci as a cultural and spiritual text, but also develops it as an ethical-epistemic resource for understanding the problem

of knowledge in digital society. At this point, the study extends earlier research that tended to stop at the internal meaning of the text, by demonstrating its external relevance to contemporary public concerns.

From an interpretive perspective, the results of this study show that the deepest meaning of *Serat Dewa Ruci* lies in its reordering of the relationship between knowledge and the subject. In many modern settings, knowledge is often understood as the accumulation of data, the acceleration of access, or the capacity to obtain as much information as possible. Yet through a hermeneutic-semiotic reading within a Sufi framework, *Serat Dewa Ruci* shows instead that valuable knowledge is determined not by the number of objects successfully mastered, but by the quality of the inner life of the subject who receives it. Here the text makes a broader social and ideological contribution. It reminds us that the modern crisis of knowledge is not only a matter of false information, but also a matter of subjects whose orientation is hasty, shallow, and easily deceived by surfaces. In this context, Dewa Ruci offers an important epistemic reversal: truth does not always appear in forms that are large, viral, conspicuous, or immediately available, but often requires pause, deepening, and transformation of perspective.

From a reflective standpoint, the findings of this study have both constructive value and limitations that must be acknowledged. Their positive contribution lies in the fact that *Serat Dewa Ruci* may serve as a source of local-spiritual wisdom that enriches the discourse of digital literacy, especially by emphasising caution, epistemic humility, verification, self-restraint, and ethical responsibility. These values are highly relevant in a situation where digital users are often driven by speed, impulsiveness, sensation, and false certainty. Nevertheless, there is also a potential dysfunction if the findings are read in an overly normative or romanticised manner. Reading *Dewa Ruci* as an ethical-spiritual resource must not reduce digital problems to matters of individual morality alone, since the crisis of information is also shaped by structural factors such as algorithms, the attention economy, platform design, and the politics of information. Accordingly, the contribution of *Dewa Ruci* should be understood as strengthening the subjective and ethical dimensions of digital literacy, rather than replacing the need for regulation, media education, and fairer platform governance.

On this basis, the implications of this study may be directed towards several lines of action. First, digital literacy education should be developed not only as technical training in verifying information, but also as the cultivation of hermeneutic sensitivity and an ethics of receiving information. In the Indonesian context, this may be done by integrating cultural texts such as *Serat Dewa Ruci* into character education, religious education, and media

literacy programmes, so that learners do not merely study how to check information, but also learn how to suspend reaction, read meaning more deeply, and develop an inward responsibility towards knowledge. Second, efforts to strengthen digital literacy in society may draw upon local cultural approaches through the adaptation of narratives, comics, visual media, or digital content that translate the values of Dewa Ruci into a more accessible public language. Third, policy-makers and educational organisers need to view digital literacy as an interdisciplinary agenda involving media education, ethics, culture, and spirituality, rather than merely technological skill. In this way, the findings of this study affirm that a more sustainable strengthening of digital literacy requires a combination of technical competence, interpretive capacity, the ordering of the subject, and cultural sources of value that remain alive within society.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that *Serat Dewa Ruci* may be read not only as a Javanese mystical narrative of the quest for self-perfection, but also as a text that systematically organises the stages of the search for truth, the formation of epistemic discipline, and an ethical orientation towards the reception of knowledge. The principal findings of this study affirm that Bima's journey moves from outward searching to inward disclosure, so that the highest knowledge is understood not as an object to be possessed, but as the result of trial, self-deepening, symbolic interpretation, and the transformation of the subject. Bima's encounter with Dewa Ruci shows that truth requires epistemic humility, ethical readiness, and inner maturation, rather than merely rapid access to information. In the contemporary context, this symbolic structure is highly relevant for understanding the challenges of digital literacy, particularly amid conditions of information overload, misinformation, and post-truth, because it offers a model of knowledge that emphasises caution, verification, clarity of interpretation, and ethical responsibility.

The scholarly contribution of this study lies in its attempt to bring together three domains that have thus far tended to be discussed separately: *Serat Dewa Ruci* as a text of Javanese culture, Islamic Sufism as a spiritual-epistemic framework, and digital literacy as a contemporary problem of knowledge. Through hermeneutic and semiotic approaches, this study not only extends the symbolic reading of *Dewa Ruci*, but also shows that the text may be developed as an ethical-epistemic resource for understanding the problem of knowledge in the digital age. In this way, the study offers a conceptual contribution in the form of an integrative reading that positions

local symbolic wisdom not merely as cultural heritage, but as a productive reflective framework for strengthening digital literacy.

Nevertheless, this study has certain limitations, since it is based on library research and textual analysis and therefore does not yet address the empirical dimension of how the values of *Serat Dewa Ruci* are actually received, taught, or implemented in digital literacy practices within society. Nor has it directly examined how the text and its values might be translated into educational models, learning media, or operational digital literacy policies. Future research may therefore extend this study through empirical approaches, such as reception studies, digital ethnography, or educational research, so that the relevance of *Serat Dewa Ruci* to the formation of digital literacy may be tested in more concrete, contextual, and comprehensive ways.

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Reorienting Mining Policy In Indonesia From a Qur'anic and Maqāṣid Al-Sharī'Ah Perspective Toward Social Justice and Ecological Sustainability

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Abstrak

Artikel ini mengkaji ulang praktik dan kebijakan pertambangan di Indonesia melalui perspektif tafsir maqāṣidi. Pertambangan, sebagai salah satu sektor strategis pembangunan ekonomi, berada pada posisi paradoksal. Di satu sisi memberikan manfaat ekonomi besar bagi negara, namun di sisi lain berpotensi menghadirkan mafsadah berupa kerusakan ekologi, konflik agraria, dan ketidakadilan sosial. Perdebatan publik, termasuk wacana yang dimunculkan Ulil Abshar Abdalla terkait hukum pertambangan dalam Islam, menunjukkan bahwa isu ini tidak hanya menyangkut aspek ekonomi dan politik, tetapi juga menyentuh persoalan etika keagamaan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi pustaka, menelaah literatur tafsir klasik dan kontemporer, fikih lingkungan, serta dokumen kebijakan pertambangan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dalam perspektif maqāṣid al-syarī'ah, pertambangan pada dasarnya mubāḥ secara dzātī, tetapi dapat beralih menjadi harām li ghairihi ketika menimbulkan kerusakan ekologis dan ketidakadilan sosial. Prinsip lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār dan kaidah taṣarruf al-imām manūṭun bi al-maṣlaḥah menegaskan bahwa negara wajib mengelola pertambangan untuk kemaslahatan umum, keberlanjutan lingkungan, dan keadilan sosial. Dengan demikian, tafsir maqāṣidi tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai perangkat teologis, melainkan juga instrumen etis-kritis untuk mengevaluasi kebijakan publik dan merumuskan tata kelola pertambangan yang lebih adil dan berkelanjutan.

Kata Kunci: Maqāṣid al-syar'iyah; pertambangan; keadilan sosial; lingkungan; kebijakan publik

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Abstract

This article re-examines mining practices and policies in Indonesia through the lens of maqāṣid-based Qur'anic exegesis. Mining, as a strategic sector in national economic development, occupies a paradoxical position: on the one hand, it provides significant economic benefits for the state, but on the other, it generates potential harms such as ecological degradation, agrarian conflicts, and social injustice. Public debates, including those raised by Ulil Abshar Abdalla regarding the Islamic legal status of mining, demonstrate that the issue extends beyond economic and political concerns to religious-ethical dimensions. This study employs a qualitative approach using literature review, drawing on classical and contemporary tafsir, Islamic environmental jurisprudence, and mining policy documents. The findings reveal that, within the framework of maqāṣid al-sharī'ah, mining is essentially mubāḥ (permissible) in itself, but may shift to harām li ghairihi (prohibited due to external causes) when it causes ecological damage and social inequality. The principles of lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār and taṣarruf al-imām manūṭun bi al-maṣlaḥah emphasize that the state is religiously and ethically obliged to manage mining for the sake of public welfare, environmental sustainability, and social justice. Thus, maqāṣidi exegesis functions not only as a theological framework but also as an ethical-critical instrument to evaluate public policies and to propose more just and sustainable mining governance.

Keyword: Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah; mining; social justice; environment; public policy

Introduction

The mining industry plays a strategic role in Indonesia's economic development, both as a major source of state revenue and as a generator of employment opportunities. It is therefore unsurprising that this sector has become a contentious subject in Islamic legal discourse and socio-economic analysis (Imam Setiawan, 2024, Note 625). On the one hand, mining offers substantial economic benefits, on the other, its practices frequently generate adverse impacts, including prolonged social conflicts, environmental degradation, ecosystem destruction, pollution, and agrarian disputes that disproportionately harm local communities (Yuliana, 2025). This contradiction has prompted scholars to critically question how mining governance should be structured in order to meet the imperatives of sustainability and social justice.

Although the mining sector offers significant economic benefits, it has also been subject to intense criticism, particularly regarding environmental degradation and social impacts. Irresponsible mining practices can cause severe damage to ecological systems, including deforestation, water and air pollution, and the loss of biodiversity (Ebus, 2024). In addition, social

conflicts between mining companies and local communities, such as land dispossession and unequal benefit distribution, frequently occur. This situation raises a critical question of how mining activities should be governed to align with principles of sustainability and social justice (Uswatul Fikriyah, 2017). These contradictions place mining in a paradoxical position, as it simultaneously functions as a source of economic benefit and socio-environmental harm.

From the perspective of Islamic law, the debate on mining revolves around the dialectic between its legal status as *ḥalāl bi dhātihi* (intrinsically permissible) and its potential transformation into *ḥarām bi ghayrihi* (prohibited due to external factors). In principle, the utilization of natural resources is permitted based on the legal maxim *al-aṣl fī al-ashyā' al-ibāḥah*; however, practices that generate ecological degradation and social injustice may alter this legal status into prohibition (Abdalla, 2024a). Although Islamic legal theory emphasizes that state policies must be oriented toward public welfare, as articulated in the maxim *taṣarruf al-imām 'alā al-ra'iyyah manūṭun bi al-maṣlaḥah*, its implementation within Indonesia's mining licensing system has frequently neglected accountability and ecological protection (Zain et al., 2024).

To date, studies on Islamic law and mining have been largely dominated by normative-textual approaches that focus on determining legal status (*ḥalāl–ḥarām*) or on classical discourses concerning natural resource ownership within the frameworks of *fiqh mu'āmalāt* and *fiqh siyāsah*, with limited engagement with the complexities of contemporary mining policy (Kasih & Ruslaini, 2024; Nasrullah et al., 2025). Although a number of recent studies have begun to relate Islamic legal thought to issues of environmental sustainability and social justice, these works remain largely partial and normative in nature and have yet to position *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* as a primary analytical instrument for evaluating mining governance as a form of public policy embedded in economic and political interests (Kurniasih, 2025; Nurholis, 2025). Even studies that explicitly adopt a *maqāṣid*-based approach to natural resource law tend to remain at the conceptual level and have not sufficiently developed an operational evaluative framework capable of assessing actual mining practices at the state level (Fikri, 2024; I'tishan et al., 2025). It is this gap in the literature that situates the present study within the academic discourse, as it proposes a *maqāṣid*-oriented synthesis that not only affirms the intrinsic permissibility of mining activities but also formulates a policy evaluation framework grounded in the protection of human life, environmental sustainability, and distributive justice as normative-analytical parameters.

Based on this background, this study aims to analyze the effectiveness of mining governance in Indonesia through the lens of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, by positioning public welfare (*aṣlaḥah 'āmmah*) and the prevention of harm (*daf' al-mafāsid*) as the primary evaluative parameters. The epistemological framework adopted does not merely view mining as an economic activity, but as a form of public policy practice that must be subject to fiqh and maqāṣid principles, particularly the legal maxim *taṣarruf al-imām 'alā al-ra'iyyah manūṭun bi al-maṣlaḥah*, which affirms that state policies are obligated to serve the comprehensive welfare of the people. Accordingly, this study contributes to expanding the scope of Islamic mining jurisprudence beyond normative legal assessments toward a maqāṣid-based evaluation of public policy oriented to sustainable welfare within the context of the modern state.

Integrative-Thematic Research Method

This study employs a qualitative literature-based research design using an integrative-thematic theoretical approach as its analytical framework. This approach combines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with the *maudhu'ī* (thematic) method of Qur'anic interpretation, involving a systematic examination of relevant Qur'anic verses and their integration with contemporary fiqh to construct a holistic evaluative framework (Fairclough, 2010). The thematic (*maudhu'ī*) approach enables the identification and classification of Qur'anic verses related to the central issue of mining, ensuring that the selected texts are analytically aligned with mining-related concerns prior to the formulation of maqāṣid al-sharī'ah. Meanwhile, Critical Discourse Analysis is employed to examine how mining-related narratives and policies are constructed, as well as how power relations and vested interests shape the legitimacy of mining practices within a Sharī'ah framework. This approach further facilitates an assessment of the environmental impacts, social justice implications, and normative ethical principles governing mining activities (Rafiq, 2017, 249).

Therefore, mining governance in Indonesia, including the licensing system and environmental impacts, requires reconstruction based on Qur'anic guidance and the principles of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. These principles encompass *maṣlaḥah* (public interest), *'adl* (justice), and *ḥifẓ al-māl* (protection of property) to ensure social welfare and ecological balance (Nasrullah et al., 2025). From the perspective of Islamic law, discussions on mining have evolved within a dialectical framework between *ḥalāl bi dhātihi* (intrinsic permissibility) and *ḥarām bi ghayrihi* (extrinsic prohibition), necessitating a comprehensive maqāṣid-based analysis.

Debates surrounding the Islamic legal status of mining underscore the relevance of this issue for in-depth scholarly inquiry, particularly in the

contemporary Indonesian context. Ulil Abshar argues that, in principle (*li dhātihi*), mining is not inherently prohibited, as Islamic jurisprudence upholds the foundational rule that all matters are permissible (*al-aṣl fī al-ashyā' al-ibāḥah*) unless explicit evidence dictates otherwise. However, mining practices may become prohibited *li ghayrihi* when they result in environmental degradation, harm local communities, or are characterized by corruption and structural injustice (Abdalla, 2024b). In a similar vein, Achmad Musyahid emphasizes that state policies governing natural resource management must be grounded in the legal maxim *taṣarruf al-imām 'alā al-ra'iyyah manūṭun bi al-maṣlaḥah*, which mandates that governmental authority be exercised primarily to secure public welfare (Idrus, 2021).

The *maqāṣid* framework provides Sharī'ah-based legitimacy for government concessions, including mining permits granted to civil society organizations, provided that such concessions are managed for public benefit (*maṣlaḥah 'āmmah*) with adequate trust, accountability, and institutional capacity. Studies within this discursive space have generated dynamic scholarly debate (Zain et al. 2024). However, this policy has also provoked controversy due to potential conflicts of interest and the limited managerial capacity of civil society organizations, which, in the absence of transparent oversight mechanisms, may contravene the principle of *lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār* (Fanani and Mamdukh Budiman, 2024). Thus, maqāṣid should be the evaluative benchmark in determining the validity of granting such concessions.

In classical fiqh literature, perspectives on the ownership and management of natural resources, including mineral resources, reveal significant diversity. Siregar and Gunawan, drawing on the Mālikī school and scholars such as Ibn Qudāmah, argue that minerals, particularly those of high economic value and limited accessibility, constitute public property (*bayt al-māl*). According to this view, such resources cannot be privately owned and must be administered by the state on behalf of society at large. This position is grounded in the principle of public interest, which requires that natural resource utilization be governed by considerations of equity and collective welfare (Habibi Siregar & Gunawan, 2021).

In contemporary Islamic legal discourse, increasing emphasis has been placed on environmental issues, as reflected in efforts to incorporate *ḥifẓ al-bī'ah* (environmental protection) into the framework of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* in both legal norms and public policy analysis (Nasir et al., 2022). This development is evident, for example, in fatwas issued by the Indonesian Council of Ulama (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI) and in various scholarly publications, which affirm that mining and deforestation practices causing environmental degradation and social harm are deemed unlawful (*ḥarām*)

(Indonesia, 2016). These positions are grounded in Islamic ecological principles that emphasize humanity's role as *khalīfah* (steward) of the earth. Such principles align closely with the maqāṣid-based approach, which embeds environmental values capable of guiding both corporate and state policies toward sustainable practices (Rashedul Hasan, 2022).

Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah constitutes a fundamental principle in Islamic studies that guides all human activities toward the realization of public welfare while preventing harm and destruction (*daf' al-mafāsid*) (Algifari & Andrini, 2024). In the context of mining, the *maqāṣidī* framework emphasizes that natural resource management cannot be assessed solely in terms of economic profitability, but must be evaluated based on its contribution to safeguarding the essential objectives of Islamic law, namely the protection of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property (Auda, 2011). This framework introduces an ethical dimension to mining governance, in which social responsibility is understood as a moral obligation rooted in Islamic teachings, thereby positioning *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* as a primary benchmark for social justice, environmental conservation, and long-term sustainability (Nasir et al., 2022; Saged et al., 2017).

Every mining policy and practice carries inherent normative consequences, namely the obligation to fulfill three fundamental criteria of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. As articulated by al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, these include *ḥifẓ al-bī'ah* (environmental preservation), *ḥifẓ al-māl* (ensuring the just distribution of resources), and *ḥifẓ al-nafs* (protecting the right to life of affected communities) (Al-Ghazali, 2005). These principles clearly indicate that policies formulated by governing authorities must be oriented toward the public good and grounded in a well-defined normative framework.

The integration of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Qur'anic exegesis, and contemporary fiqh constitutes a sophisticated interdisciplinary approach. This integration reflects the reality that complex modern issues such as mining cannot be adequately addressed through a single disciplinary lens. Such an approach reveals the power structures and discursive narratives that shape how religious texts and legal principles are interpreted and operationalized in the pursuit of justice and social welfare. Consequently, this method provides a robust analytical framework for examining the socio-political dimensions of fiqh in contemporary contexts.

Results and Discussion

Interpreters' Views on Verses Related to Mining

Prohibition Against Destroying the Earth: Analysis of QS. Al-A'raf: 56

The prohibition against causing destruction on earth is explicitly articulated in QS. al-A'rāf [7]: 56. The phrase وَلَا تُفْسِدُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ *("Do not cause corruption on the earth")* affirms humanity's moral responsibility to protect and preserve the natural resources bestowed by God. This verse embodies an ecotheological principle, emphasizing the awareness that the earth is a divine trust (*amānah*) that must be managed wisely and responsibly. Accordingly, the verse is not merely normative in nature but also ethical, as it directs human conduct toward maintaining ecological and social balance as an expression of gratitude for God's blessings (K. A. R. Indonesia, 2019, Note 224).

Wahbah az-Zuḥailī, in *Tafsīr al-Munīr*, offers a comprehensive interpretation of this verse by explaining that the prohibition of causing corruption (*fasād*) encompasses not only ecological destruction but also moral and social degradation. God has perfected the earth and harmonized its order, and He sent messengers to reform human morality so that people do not deviate from the principles of justice and goodness (Az-Zuḥailī, 2013, Note 106). Az-Zuḥailī further argues that individuals with sound moral character are better equipped to manage natural resources in a proportional and responsible manner, as ethical integrity constitutes the foundation of ecological behavior (Az-Zuḥailī, 2013, Note 108).

Quraish Shihab interprets this verse within a socio-moral framework. According to him, the prohibition against causing corruption (*fasād*) serves as a firm directive that humans must not damage God's creation, as such actions constitute a denial of the divine effort to establish order and balance in the world (Shihab, 2005a, Note 289). In this sense, the notion of *fasād* in Q. al-A'rāf [7]: 56 is not merely normative but carries a strong ethical dimension, as it refers to actions that disrupt both ecological balance and social order. Consequently, humans bear full moral responsibility for safeguarding the divine trust entrusted to them, including the protection of the environment and the preservation of social harmony.

From a legal perspective, Wahbah az-Zuḥailī asserts that this verse reflects a fundamental fiqh maxim, *al-aṣl fī al-ḍarar al-taḥrīm* (the default ruling of any act that causes harm is prohibition), whereas actions that generate benefit are, in principle, permissible (Az-Zuḥailī, 2013, Note 110). Accordingly, QS. al-A'rāf [7]: 56 provides a normative foundation for prohibiting excessive exploitation, whether manifested in environmental

degradation, social inequality, or the abuse of power over public natural resources.

Analytically, this verse has direct implications for modern mining practices, as the exploitation of natural resources that results in environmental degradation, pollution, and the loss of ecosystem carrying capacity can be classified as *fasād* and is therefore prohibited under Islamic law. Accordingly, Q. al-A'rāf [7]: 56 serves as a normative foundation for limiting extractive activities and for providing ethical legitimacy to the enforcement of stringent environmental regulations.

Indications of Damage Caused by the Children of Adam AS: Analysis of QS. Al-Baqarah: 30

In verse 30 of Sūrat al-Baqarah, God narrates the appointment of the Prophet Adam as *khalīfah* on earth, a designation that initially prompted questions from the angels. They expressed concern that humanity would cause corruption (*fasād*) and bloodshed on earth, while they themselves continuously glorified and sanctified God. However, God affirmed that His knowledge encompasses realities beyond the angels' awareness, particularly humanity's potential to uphold divine values and cultivate the earth in accordance with the mandate of stewardship.

Accordingly, as elucidated by al-Rāzī, the concept of *istikhlāf* in this verse encompasses both theological and ecological dimensions, whereby human beings are entrusted not merely with managing the earth but also with preserving its balance as a form of moral responsibility toward the Creator (Al-Rāzī, 1981, Notes 176–177). Within a *maqāṣidī* interpretive framework, this verse constitutes a foundational basis for Islamic environmental ethics, affirming that the utilization of natural resources, including mining activities, must be conducted within the responsibility of human stewardship (*khilāfah*) to ensure the sustainability of the earth (Khalid, 2003, Notes 103–106).

Meanwhile, az-Zuḥailī explains the angels' astonishment when Allah declared Adam's creation as caliph on earth as a result of their claim that humans had the potential to cause destruction and bloodshed. This is what his descendants would later do (Az-Zuḥailī, 2013, Note 230). An older account in Jāmi' al-Bayān by al-Ṭabarī (Al-Ṭabarī 1994, nn. 187–188) and *ad-Durr al-Manthūr* by al-Suyūṭī (Al-Suyūṭī, 2003, 60–61) add that the angels'

concern began when Allah created fire as a symbol of punishment for disobedient creatures, even though at that time there were no creations other than angels.

In the historical context of interpretation, Az-Zuḥailī quotes al-Kasysyāf, who asserts that angels base their predictions on their previous experiences with jinn who had destroyed the earth before humans were created, as stated in QS. Yūsuf [12]: 14 regarding the succession of generations as caliphs on earth (Al-Zamakhsyari, n.d.; Az-Zuḥailī, 2013). Meanwhile, al-Ṣābūnī explains that the term khalīfah means Allah's "successor" on earth, namely creatures who are mandated to uphold the law, manage resources, and maintain the balance of nature as a mandate of the caliphate from generation to generation (Al-Ṣābūnī, 2001, Notes 42–43).

Within the framework of mining analysis, this verse affirms that extractive activities do not constitute an absolute human right, but rather a practice that must remain subject to the mandate of *khilāfah*. When mining is conducted without adequate ecological and social control, such practices effectively validate the angels' concerns expressed in the verse regarding the potential for corruption and destruction on earth.

Does human management determine benefit or harm?: An analysis of QS. Al-Baqarah verse 29

The role of Allah swt in perfecting His creation is manifested in the earth and all that it contains, lacking nothing in its design and order. All of creation is bestowed for the comprehensive benefit of humankind. This is articulated in Qur'an Surah al-Baqarah [2]:29, which explains that Allah perfected the heavens into seven layers and ordained within them celestial bodies that move in precise orbits. The orderly rotation of these heavenly bodies, without collision or disorder, stands as a manifestation of divine majesty and harmony, reflecting a cosmic system governed by balance and precision.

Az-Zuḥailī interprets this verse as an affirmation of the realization of *maṣlaḥah* for humankind, in which, by divine decree, God has provided all the necessities of creation through the perfection of the earth and its contents. Drawing on the interpretations of al-Ṭabarī, al-Qurṭubī, and Ibn Kathīr, Az-Zuḥailī emphasizes that human negligence and recklessness in managing natural resources constitute a form of ingratitude (*kufr*) that is explicitly

condemned by God. He further explains that the verse functions as a moral lesson (*i'tibār*), articulated through references to the processes of giving life, causing death, creating, and perfecting creation as manifestations of divine wisdom (Wahbah Az-Zuhaili, 2013).

Nevertheless, scholars of *uṣūl al-fiqh* have taken this verse as the basis for the legal maxim, "الأَصْلُ فِي الأَشْيَاءِ الإِبَاحَةُ حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ الدَّلِيلُ عَلَى التَّحْرِيمِ" (*the original ruling of all things is permissibility unless there is evidence to the contrary*). This maxim implies that, in principle, human beings are permitted to benefit from all that Allah has made available on the earth, except where a specific prohibition exists. Accordingly, humans have no authority to declare unlawful what Allah has permitted unless its use demonstrably leads to harm (*mafsadah*).

Furthermore, al-Ṣābūnī, in his *Ṣafwat al-Tafāsīr*, interprets this verse by emphasizing its rhetorical (*balāghah*) dimensions. He begins by highlighting the key phrase خَلَقَ لَكُمْ ("He created for you"), which signifies that Allah has fully bestowed upon humanity everything that exists on earth for their benefit and welfare. This expression reflects divine mercy and grace toward humankind. The subsequent use of the term جَمِيْعًا ("all without exception") further reinforces the comprehensive scope of this endowment, indicating that all elements of the earth, natural resources, animals, plants, and other forms of creation, are made available for human use. Taken as a whole, al-Ṣābūnī concludes that this verse serves as a call for humanity to engage in *tadabbur*, that is, reflective contemplation of the grandeur of Allah's creation (Ash-Shabuni, 1981).

The implication of this Qur'anic understanding is that mining practices must be evaluated based on their actual impacts. As long as mining activities generate public benefit and do not result in ecological degradation, they may be considered justifiable. Conversely, mining operations that cause environmental destruction and marginalize local communities fundamentally contradict the ethical principles articulated in this verse.

God's Blessings for All Creation: An Analysis of QS. Al-Anbiya': 107

All of humanity receives mercy from Allah SWT without exception. In fact, this mercy is not only for humans, but also for animals, plants, and both Muslims and non-Muslims. Allah SWT's mercy is embodied in a messenger named Muhammad SAW, as stated in the verse. The presence of the Prophet,

peace be upon him, brought a breath of fresh air to the entire universe. However, some people still deny it.

According to Wahbah al-Zuḥailī, the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) represents the embodiment of Islamic law as a bearer of universal mercy (*raḥmatan li al-ʻālamīn*), as stated in QS al-Anbiyā' [21]: 107 (Al-Zuḥailī, 1998, 112). This mercy encompasses two interrelated dimensions: a spiritual dimension, manifested in guiding humanity from ignorance toward divine guidance, and a social dimension, reflected in the establishment of justice and the protection of human rights as core objectives of the Sharīʻah (*maqāṣid al-sharīʻah*) (Al-Zuḥailī, 1998, Note 113). Al-Zuḥailī further emphasizes that the blessings of the Prophetic message extend to all humankind, including non-Muslims who were spared divine punishment due to the presence of the Prophet (Al-Zuḥailī, 1998, Note 115). Accordingly, his interpretation presents Islam as a universal religion that upholds humanitarian values, justice, and collective well-being.

Meanwhile, ʻAlī al-Ṣābūnī explains that the mercy brought by the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) specifically encompasses forgiveness, guidance, and salvation from various forms of harm and suffering. In this verse, al-Ṣābūnī emphasizes the universal character of the Prophet's mission, which is oriented toward peace and collective well-being rather than punishment or retribution. Accordingly, the Prophet's role as *raḥmatan li al-ʻālamīn* is understood as an invitation to goodness and a safeguard against corruption and destruction (Ash-Shabuni, 1981).

Analytically, this verse affirms that the principle of raḥmatan li al-ʻālamīn necessitates that mining policies must prioritize the sustainability of all living creatures, not merely short-term economic interests. Environmental damage that affects future generations clearly contradicts the spirit of this verse.

Being Fair in a Social Context: An Analysis of QS. Al-Rahman: 9

The attitude of fairness also seems to be mentioned by Allah swt in Surah Al-Rahman verse 9. In this verse, fairness is expressed with the word الْوَزْنwhich means "balance," a phrase that symbolizes equilibrium. The command to be fair in this verse also serves as a prohibition against cheating. Essentially, Allah has provided guidance in empowering all of His creations for the common good and welfare.

Az-Zuhaili interprets this verse as a form of Allah's firmness towards His creatures' commitment to justice. Prioritizing integrity in weighing, by promoting honesty and justice. He also links another verse with a similar meaning about "weighing" in verse 182 of Surah Asy-Syu'āra, "And weigh with a true balance." According to him, the repetition is intended to encourage fairness and honesty. Az-Zuhaili notes that first, Allah commands humans to be fair and balanced, and then prohibits exceeding limits or overweighing. Second is the prohibition of cheating because it reduces existing limits and harms others (Wahbah Az-Zuhaili, 2013).

Similar to Ali Ash-Shabuni, who interpreted the verse by dividing it into two points. First, upholding justice. On this point, Ash-Shabuni absorbed the meaning of the verse وَاَقِيْمُوا الْوَزْنَ بِالْقِسْطِ, which explicitly applies the principle of justice in every aspect of life, especially those related to the rights of others. Second, avoiding cheating. This point is derived from the meaning of the next part of the same verse, وَلَا تُخْسِرُوا الْمِيْزَان, which specifically prohibits cheating, deceiving, and even reducing the rights of others, both in the context of trade and in social interactions (Ash-Shabuni, 1981).

A broader interpretation is presented by Quraish Shihab, who interprets the word mizan as a scale or balance, referring to the meaning of justice in the broadest context. This includes Allah's implicit command in the verse to maintain the balance of the ecosystem of all His creations on earth in all aspects of life. The concept of justice is not limited to transactional aspects, but also includes legal justice, economic justice, and justice in human relations. Shihab emphasizes the role of humans who must maintain harmony on earth as caliphs (Shihab, 2005b).

Analytically, the concept of *mīzān* in QS. al-Raḥmān [55]: 9 cannot be reduced to mere transactional justice or individual ethics; rather, it must be understood as a structural principle governing human relations both with one another and with nature. The command *iqāmat al-wazn bi al-qiṣṭ* signifies an obligation to actively uphold balance, while the prohibition *tukhsirū al-mīzān* underscores that any action diminishing the rights of others, whether human or environmental, constitutes a form of systemic injustice. In this context, justice extends beyond personal honesty to encompass equitable socio-ecological governance, wherein the distribution of benefits and burdens must be proportional and must not exceed the carrying capacity of the natural environment.

The implications of this verse for mining practices in Indonesia are profound. Inequitable distribution of mining revenues, the marginalization of local communities, and environmental degradation transmitted to future generations reflect clear violations of the principle of *mīzān* (balance and justice). When economic benefits are concentrated in corporate and state actors while ecological burdens are borne by mining-adjacent communities and surrounding ecosystems, the Qur'anic vision of justice remains unrealized. In this respect, Q. al-Raḥmān [55]: 9 provides a normative foundation for the concepts of ecological justice and intergenerational justice, requiring that mining policies be oriented not merely toward economic growth but toward balance, sustainability, and the protection of the rights of all living beings.

Maqāṣidī Synthesis of Qur'anic Verses on Mining

An integrative analysis of QS. al-A'rāf [7]: 56, QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 29–30, QS. al-Anbiyā' [21]: 107, and QS. al-Raḥmān [55]: 9 shows that the Qur'an does not view the utilization of natural resources as merely a technical-economic activity, but rather as a moral practice subject to the objectives of sharia (maqāṣid al-syarī'ah). When read thematically and synthetically, these verses form a coherent normative ethical framework for assessing modern mining practices, particularly in the context of developing countries such as Indonesia, which face the dilemma between economic growth and environmental sustainability.

The first principle that emerges consistently is the prohibition of ecological *fasād* (destruction). Qur'an 7:56 affirms that damage to the earth, whether in the form of environmental degradation, social inequality, or governance disorder, constitutes a violation of the divine will. This prohibition is not confined to individual moral conduct but functions as an evaluative norm for systems of production and resource exploitation. In the context of mining, this principle rejects extractive practices that exceed environmental carrying capacity, neglect post-mining reclamation, or generate long-term ecological harm. In line with contemporary *maqāṣid*-based approaches, environmental protection (*ḥifẓ al-bī'ah*) is increasingly understood as an integral component of safeguarding life and ensuring the sustainability of human existence (Chapra, 2008; Kamali, 2016).

The second principle is the mandate of *khilāfah* as articulated in Qur'an 2:29–30. These verses position human beings as *khalīfah*, entrusted

stewards rather than absolute owners of natural resources. Consequently, the legitimacy of human engagement in mineral extraction is conditional, depending on the extent to which such activities reflect responsibility, prudence, and an orientation toward public welfare. From this perspective, mining practices that marginalize local communities, degrade the living spaces of indigenous peoples, or generate social conflict signify a failure to ethically fulfill the mandate of stewardship. This framework aligns with broader critiques of the anthropocentric and extractivist paradigm in modern economic systems, which tend to treat nature as a morally neutral object devoid of intrinsic value (Bsoul et al., 2022).

The third principle is justice (*mīzān*), derived from Q. al-Raḥmān [55]: 9. Justice in this verse does not merely signify transactional honesty, but rather structural balance in the distribution of benefits and burdens. In the context of mining, the principle of *mīzān* requires that economic gains not be concentrated solely among the state and corporate actors, while ecological and social costs are disproportionately borne by local communities and future generations. Accordingly, this verse provides normative legitimacy for the concepts of ecological justice and intergenerational justice, which demand transparency, public participation, and a proportional distribution of benefits. This perspective resonates with global discourses on environmental justice and sustainable governance (Rawls, 2001; Schlosberg, 2002).

The fourth principle is raḥmatan li al-'ālamīn, as stated in QS. al-Anbiyā' [21]: 107. This principle broadens the horizon of mining ethics beyond human interests alone to the welfare of all creatures. Mercy in this verse necessitates that economic activities, including mining, must be oriented towards the sustainability of life, not merely the accumulation of short-term profits. Thus, mining practices that destroy habitats, pollute water and soil, and exacerbate the global ecological crisis are contrary to the prophetic mission, which is universal and inclusive in nature.

With this maqāṣidī synthesis, verses from the Qur'an are no longer understood in a partial and normative-descriptive manner, but serve as a critical evaluative framework for modern mining practices in Indonesia. Islamic mining ethics, within this framework, demands a paradigm shift from exploitation to sustainable management, from profit orientation to public interest, and from short-term interests to intergenerational responsibility.

Principles of Fiqh in Islamic Mining Ethics

After the verses of the Qur'an concerning the prohibition of fasād, the mandate of the caliphate, cosmic justice, and universal mercy have been analyzed in an integrative manner, the next step is to explore how these normative-theological messages are articulated in the structure of Islamic law. It is at this point that fiqh functions as a medium for transforming Qur'anic values into operational rules that can be used to assess socio-economic practices, including mining activities. Thus, the principles of fiqh formulated in this section are not positioned as general rules that stand alone, but as normative consequences of the synthesis of the verses discussed earlier.

Within this framework, the prohibition against causing harm as emphasized in QS. 7: 56 finds its legal articulation in the principle of *lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār*, which emphasizes the prohibition against causing or receiving harm (Ajmal et al., 2025; Putra, 2024). This principle is very important in determining when mining activities become extrinsically prohibited. The Qur'anic prohibition against destroying the earth after it has been repaired by Allah does not stop at the moral level, but necessitates a legal principle that prohibits all forms of actions that cause harm.

In the context of mining, this principle serves as an evaluative instrument to assess the extent to which mineral extraction activities can be justified when they are proven to cause ecological pollution, public health degradation, or social conflict. A number of contemporary studies affirm that the fiqh approach based on lā ḍarar is relevant to responding to modern ecological crises, as it allows for legal assessments that are sensitive to real impacts, rather than just formal legality (Ajmal et al., 2025).

The next principle is maṣlaḥah, which in this study is derived from the concept of raḥmatan li al-'ālamīn as stated in QS. al-Anbiyā' [21]: 107. Universal mercy, which is the mission of prophethood, implies that every economic activity must contribute to the welfare of life at large, not just to the benefit of certain groups. Therefore, maṣlaḥah in the context of mining cannot be narrowed down to economic growth or increased state revenue alone, but must include ecosystem sustainability, protection of affected communities, and the survival of future generations. This approach is in line with the development of contemporary maqāṣid al-syarī'ah, which places sustainability as part of the objectives of Islamic law (I'tishan et al., 2025).

Meanwhile, the principle of al-aṣl fī al-ashyā' al-ibāḥah in mining issues is rooted in QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 29, specifically the phrase khalaqa lakum mā fī al-arḍ jamī'ā. This verse affirms the permissibility of humans to utilize natural resources. However, this is not absolute, as it is framed by the mandate of khalifah in QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 30 and the principle of balance (mīzān) in QS. al-Raḥmān [55]: 9. Thus, ibāḥah in mining is conditional and its legal status can change when such utilization exceeds the limits of ecological and social justice (Hidayat, 2023). This understanding confirms that Islamic fiqh provides an internal mechanism to limit excessive exploitation without having to reject the utilization of resources altogether.

At the level of implicative discussion, these findings of fiqh principles indicate that Islamic law has the normative capacity to respond to modern mining problems in a contextual manner. The principles of lā ḍarar, maṣlaḥah, and conditional ibāḥah form an ethical-juridical framework that allows for critical evaluation of mining practices without being trapped in a rigid halal-haram dichotomy. This framework opens space for a dialogical reading of fiqh with contemporary ecological and social realities, while emphasizing that the legitimacy of mining in Islam is highly dependent on its real impact on justice, ecological balance, and the sustainability of life.

Intrinsic Permissibility (*Halal Bi Dzātihi*) of Mining Activities

Based on the synthesis of verses from the Qur'an from a maqāṣidī perspective and the principles of fiqh that have been formulated in the previous section, it is clear that the nature of mining activities cannot be considered inherently haram (prohibited) from an Islamic legal perspective. QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 29 emphasizes that natural resources were created by Allah SWT for human use (*khalaqa lakum mā fī al-arḍ jamī'ā*), so that such use reflects the shar'i legitimacy of using natural resources as a means of life (Hutagalung, 2024). Contemporary research on natural resource management from an Islamic perspective confirms this position, that the Qur'an views humans as khalīfah who are entrusted with utilizing and maintaining the balance of nature (*hifẓ al-bi'ah*), not avoiding its utilization altogether (Nasution et al., 2025).

Within the framework of fiqh, this finding reinforces the application of the principle of *al-aṣl fī al-ashyā' al-ibāḥah*, which places permissibility as the default ruling in all mu'āmalah activities (I'tishan et al., 2025). Based on this verse and principle, mining can be categorized as *ḥalāl bi dzātihi*, meaning

that it does not contain any intrinsic elements of prohibition as long as it is not accompanied by external factors that cause mafsadah (Abdalla, 2024a). However, this permissibility is conditional and cannot be understood in a value-free manner, because it must be read systemically together with the mandate of khalifah (QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 30) and the principle of cosmic balance (*mīzān*) as emphasized in QS. al-Raḥmān [55]: 9, which affirms the responsibility to protect nature (Fatkhullah & Mahmud, 2025).

This understanding is in line with the interpretation of modern exegetes such as Rashīd Riḍā, who emphasizes that humans were created to manage and utilize natural resources as part of the development of civilization, but remain bound by moral responsibilities and the principle of sustainability. Riḍā asserts that the main problem does not lie in the activity of utilizing nature itself, but rather in the manner of exploitation that exceeds the limits of balance and ignores future interest (R. Riḍā, 1990). Thus, the permissibility of utilizing natural resources in Islam always goes hand in hand with the obligation to maintain sustainability and long-term benefits (Auda, 2011).

In order to clarify the nature of this intrinsic validity, this study uses a conceptual analogy, rather than a methodological one, with the term ṣaḥīḥ li dzātihi in mustaḥalah al-ḥadīth as explained by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, 1986, Notes 17–19). This analogy is used illustratively to emphasize that an activity can be considered valid internally without requiring external justifying factors, as long as there are no inherent flaws in it. However, this analogy is not used as a basis for determining the law, but merely as a conceptual tool to explain that the prohibition of mining, if any, stems from external factors (bi ghayrihi), not from the mining activity itself.

In the context of contemporary Islamic discourse in Indonesia, this position is also relevant. Quoting Gus Ulil Abshar in a dialogue forum with Greenpeace forest campaign activists, he emphasized that, “Mining itself is not haram, unless its practices cause real damage.” This view reinforces research findings that the prohibition of mining is extrinsic and contextual, depending on the extent to which its practices cause ecological damage, social inequality, or violations of the principles of justice and public interest.

In line with this view, Rasyid Riḍā pays attention to ecosystems that have sustainable characteristics. In his interpretation, he emphasizes the importance of utilizing nature. He interprets that humans were created to

manage and utilize natural resources on earth. This management, of course, must be balanced with moral responsibility. Ridha emphasizes the importance of balance in the use of nature, where humans must strive not only to meet current needs but also to consider future needs. The concept of sustainability in the use of natural resources is very important so that nature can continue to provide benefits for human life (M. R. Riḍā, 1947, p. 251).

Thus, it can be asserted that the intrinsic permissibility (*ḥalāl bi dzātihi*) of mining is one of the main findings of this article. This finding has important conceptual implications, as it shifts the discourse of Islamic law on mining from the normative question of "permissible or impermissible" to an evaluative analysis of the limits of such permissibility. Islam, in this framework, does not reject mining as a modern economic activity, but demands that its practices be continuously evaluated based on their real impact on justice, ecological balance, and sustainability of life. The integration between original permissibility and *maqāṣidī* restrictions is the significant contribution of this research to the development of environmental fiqh and contemporary Islamic mining ethics.

Extrinsic Prohibition (Haram Li Ghairihi) and Its Negative Impacts

Although inherently halal, mining can change its status to haram li ghairihi due to accompanying external factors, not because of the substance of mining itself. For example, mining activities that cause environmental damage, such as excessive exploitation of resources or unfair distribution of profits, contradict Islamic principles that prohibit harm and mutual harm (Muh Yusrang, 2025). This contradicts the principles of Islamic law that prohibit harm and mutual harm. This principle is supported by the fiqh rule mentioned in the hadith of the Prophet saw, "*lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār*" (there should be no harm and mutual harm) [HR. Mālik, Ibn Mājah, dan Aḥmad].

The shift from intrinsic permissibility to extrinsic prohibition based on impact is a crucial legal point. This demonstrates the pragmatic and consequential dimension of Islamic law, where the legality of an action ultimately depends on its real impact on society and the environment. This has caused fiqh to shift from abstract theory to practical ethics that are highly adaptive to the unexpected consequences of modern activities. The basis for this prohibition is found in Surah Al-A'raf verse 56, which explicitly prohibits humans from causing damage to the earth after Allah has repaired it. This principle shows that the legal status of mining is not a static determination,

but rather a variable that depends on the consequences and ethics of its implementation.

In practice, some mining activities must be evaluated based on their concrete impacts, not just on the type of activity. It is necessary to ensure that every mining practice meets technical and legal criteria, but also to consider the possible social and environmental consequences. Musyawir & Suardi, in their journal, present the results of field research on disturbances to the community (disturbances to rest time), dust pollution, and road damage. They emphasize that this is contrary to Islamic teachings because it causes harm and disregards the public interest (Awi & Busrah, 2021, Notes 37–40). This comprehensive evaluation includes an analysis of potential ecosystem damage, impacts on public health, and fairness in the distribution of benefits to local communities.

The concept of *ḥarām li ghairihi* in the context of mining emphasizes that environmental damage (ecological degradation) is generally interrelated with the emergence of social injustice, especially that which impacts local communities as the most vulnerable parties. Within the framework of *maqāṣid al-syarī'ah*, environmental sustainability and the distribution of justice cannot be viewed as separate issues, but rather as a complementary whole. The principle of *lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār* affirms the prohibition of all forms of damage and injustice, whether impacting the ecological order or the socio-economic structure of society. Therefore, Islamic law normatively requires a holistic approach, in which environmental protection is a prerequisite for achieving social justice, and conversely, social justice cannot be achieved without ecological sustainability. It is this integrative approach that places *maqāṣid* not only as a legal framework, but also as a binding public ethical paradigm for the state, society, and industry players in maintaining a balance between economic benefits, environmental sustainability, and social justice.

Implications for Sustainable Mining Policy in Indonesia

Imam Ibn Taymiyyah in *al-Siyāsah al-Syar'iyyah* provides a very fundamental and relevant normative framework to be applied in the modern context of joint asset management (*al-amwāl al-musytarakah*), including natural resources. According to him, all forms of policy related to natural resources must be directed towards achieving the welfare of the people (*maslahah al-ra'iyyah*) as the main principle and objective of the state or public interest. This statement is in line with the fiqh rule "*taṣarruf al-imām*

'alā al-ra'iyyah manūṭun bi al-maṣlaḥah," which emphasizes that the legitimacy of a ruler's policies is determined by the extent to which he is able to bring justice, prosperity, and protection to the people (Idrus, 2021, Notes 125–126).

The implications of this principle have two important consequences. First, the preventive aspect takes the form of an obligation to avoid all forms of *ḍarar* (harm) and *dzulm* (injustice) in the exploitation of natural resources. Second, the constructive aspect takes the form of an obligation to optimize benefits (*iṣtiṣḥlah*) for the greatest prosperity of society. Ibn Taymiyyah specifically emphasized that management models that ignore the principle of socio-ecological justice are a deviation from the mandate of '*khilāfah fī al-arḍ*' (stewardship of the earth). In this case, this is in accordance with verse 30 of Surah al-Baqarah, namely fair and responsible management of the earth and its deviations which indicate the failure of the state in carrying out this mandate.

Therefore, in this case, several efforts need to be made, namely preventive efforts to prevent harm and injustice. In this effort, it is important to review the maqāṣid and interpretations of Ibn Taymiyyah, who stated that the state is obliged to protect society from all forms of harm (*ḍarar*) and injustice (*ẓulm*), including all consequences of mining practices. This includes environmental degradation, such as deforestation, pollution, and loss of biodiversity, as well as social conflicts such as land evictions, marginalization of local communities, and unequal distribution of benefits. Therefore, the principle of *lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār* explicitly prohibits actions that violate rights and damage the ecological and social order.

In addition, constructive efforts to optimize benefits for society must also be pursued. In this case, the principle of *istiṣlāḥ* (optimization of benefits) requires that the exploitation of resources, including mining, must be carried out for the sake of widespread prosperity and to avoid exploitative actions. Various benefits such as job creation, infrastructure development, and improved welfare must be actively pursued in mining policy. In addition, this collectivity of maṣlāḥah is the answer to the mandate of *khilāfah fī al-arḍ* carried out by humans, namely fair and responsible management of the earth and its deviations, which indicate the failure of the state in carrying out this mandate.

Meanwhile, in the current context, this paradigm is in line with the green economy and sustainable development model, which demands a balance between economic development, social justice, and environmental sustainability. In the Islamic context, the maqāṣid approach provides theological legitimacy that mining policies must protect *ḍārūriyyāt al-khams* (religion, life, reason, lineage, and property), while also considering *ḥifẓ al-bi'ah* (environmental preservation) as an additional dimension. In addition, another study conducted by Nasrullah shows the need to reformulate the mining system in Indonesia based on *maqāṣid*, including in the business licensing and profit distribution systems in order to achieve harmony between the spirit of the constitution and the principle of *maṣlāḥah* (Nasrullah et al., 2025, Notes 8–10).

Conclusion

This study shows that mining from an Islamic legal perspective is essentially *ḥalāl bi dzātihi*, because it has a basis of permissibility as stated in QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 29, but this permissibility is conditional and highly determined by management practices. Through an integrative synthesis of verses from the Qur'an and the framework of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, this study finds four main normative principles: the prohibition of ecological *fasād*, the mandate of khalifah, the principle of justice (*mīzān*), and the orientation of *raḥmatan li al-'ālamīn*, which together form an ethical evaluative framework for mining governance in Indonesia. These findings confirm that mining cannot be evaluated solely as an economic activity, but must be positioned as a public policy that must guarantee environmental protection, equitable distribution of benefits, and intergenerational sustainability. However, this study has limitations because it is still based on normative-conceptual analysis and has not been accompanied by empirical studies on the implementation of mining policies in the field. Therefore, further research is recommended to develop an interdisciplinary approach by combining *maqāṣidī* analysis and empirical data, as well as expanding the study to specific mining case studies, so that the contribution of Islamic ethics to the reform of natural resource governance can be formulated in a more applicable and contextual manner.

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Pribumisasi Makna Al-Qur'an dalam Tafsir Vernakular: Analisis Hermeneutika Gadamer atas al-Ibrīz dan Raudatul 'Irfān pada Horizon Jawa–Sunda

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan mengidentifikasi, mendeskripsikan, dan membandingkan strategi pribumisasi penafsiran dalam dua tafsir vernacular Nusantara, yaitu *al-Ibrīz li Ma'rifati Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azīz* (horizon Jawa) dan *Raudatul 'Irfān fi Ma'rifat al-Qur'an* (horizon Sunda), dengan menekankan bagaimana lokalitas bekerja sebagai mekanisme pemahaman dalam menjembatani horizon teks dan horizon pembaca. Studi ini menggunakan desain kualitatif-interpretatif berbasis analisis teks dan hermeneutika, dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui studi dokumentasi dan *close reading* pada empat unit data (J1 QS an-Nūr [24]:27; J2 QS al-Qaṣaṣ [28]:70; S1 QS al-Baqarah [2]:217; S2 QS al-'Ankabūt [29]:41). Analisis dilakukan melalui kategorisasi temuan pada tiga dimensi yang setara serta dioperasionalkan dengan kerangka hermeneutika Hans-Georg Gadamer (relasi horizon teks–pembaca, prapemahaman, tradisi/otoritas, *effective history*, dan *fusion of horizons*). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *al-Ibrīz* membumikan makna melalui diksi etika sosial "kulo nuwun" dan metafora relasi-hirarki "sowan" dengan model pedagogi dialogis-prosedural, sedangkan *Raudatul 'Irfān* menonjolkan diksi kalender lokal (Hapit–Rayagung) dan metafora fauna lokal (lancah/ramat lancah) yang diperkuat elaborasi deskriptif alam dengan model eksplanatif. Secara implikatif, temuan ini menegaskan perlunya tindak lanjut pada ranah kurikulum tafsir (modul Tafsir Nusantara sebagai studi kasus hermeneutik), standar editorial (glosarium dan parateks wajib untuk istilah kultural), strategi dakwah/edukasi (padanan lokal yang terkontrol disertai batas makna tekstual), serta digitalisasi edisi anotatif untuk memperluas akses lintas komunitas. Keaslian penelitian ini terletak pada komparasi dua horizon budaya (Jawa–Sunda) dalam satu desain analisis dengan matriks dimensi yang setara, penggunaan Gadamer sebagai "mesin analisis" yang menelusuri proses pembentukan makna secara runtut pada unit data spesifik, dan pembacaan

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pribumisasi sebagai strategi komunikasi-interpretatif yang diimbangi refleksi risiko disfungsi.

Kata Kunci: *Tafsir lokal*, *vernacular tafsir; Tafsir Nusantara; pribumisasi; hermeneutika Gadamer; al-Ibrīz; Raudatul 'Irfān*

Abstract

This study aims to identify, describe, and compare strategies of indigenizing interpretation (pribumisasi) in two vernacular Qur'anic commentaries (tafsir) from the Indonesian archipelago, namely al-Ibrīz li Ma'rifati Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azīz (Javanese horizon) and Raudatul 'Irfān fi Ma'rifat al-Qur'an (Sundanese horizon), with particular attention to how locality operates as a mechanism of understanding that mediates between the horizon of the text and the horizon of the reader. The research employs a qualitative-interpretive design grounded in textual analysis and hermeneutics, using documentation study and close reading of four units of analysis (J1: Q. an-Nūr [24]:27; J2: Q. al-Qaṣaṣ [28]:70; S1: Q. al-Baqarah [2]:217; S2: Q. al-'Ankabūt [29]:41). Findings are analyzed through categorization across three comparable dimensions and operationalized through Hans-Georg Gadamer's hermeneutical framework (the text–reader horizon relation, pre-understanding, tradition/authority, effective history, and the fusion of horizons). The results show that al-Ibrīz grounds meaning through the social-ethical diction kulo nuwun and the relational–hierarchical metaphor sowan, employing a dialogical-procedural pedagogical style, whereas Raudatul 'Irfān foregrounds local calendrical diction (Hapit–Rayagung) and local fauna metaphors (lancah/ramat lancah), reinforced by descriptive elaborations of nature in an explanatory mode. In terms of implications, these findings underscore the need for follow-up actions in the domains of tafsir curricula (integrating Tafsir Nusantara as a hermeneutical case-study module), editorial standards (mandatory glossaries and paratexts for cultural terms), da'wah/educational strategies (controlled use of local equivalents accompanied by explicit textual-meaning boundaries), and the digitalization of annotated editions to broaden cross-community access. The originality of this study lies in its comparison of two cultural horizons (Javanese–Sundanese) within a single analytical design using an equivalent-dimensional matrix, its deployment of Gadamer as an "analytical engine" to trace meaning-formation processes systematically through specific textual units, and its reading of indigenization as a communicative-interpretive strategy balanced by a critical reflection on the risks of dysfunction.

Keyword: vernacular tafsir; Tafsir Nusantara; indigenization; Gadamerian hermeneutics; al-Ibrīz; Raudatul 'Irfān.

Latarbelakang

Indonesia merupakan negara yang sangat majemuk secara linguistik; Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa mencatat pemetaan 718 bahasa daerah (Yohantho 2025). Kemajemukan ini sekaligus menjadi tantangan dalam penerjemahan dan penafsiran Al-Qur'an ke dalam bahasa-

bahasa lokal (*vernacular tafsir*), karena harus menyeimbangkan keterpahaman pembaca dengan ketepatan makna teks sumber. Fenomena ini penting karena penerjemahan Al-Qur'an pada dasarnya adalah upaya "membuka akses makna" bagi komunitas non-Arab, tetapi sekaligus berada dalam wilayah sensitif: keputusan kebahasaan selalu berhadapan dengan tuntutan menjaga kesakralan, ketepatan semantik, dan konsekuensi teologis (Boulaouali 2021). Literatur penerjemahan menegaskan bahwa strategi adaptasi budaya—sering dipetakan sebagai *foreignization* (menjaga "kearaban" teks) vs *domestication* (mendekatkan ke budaya sasaran)—tidak pernah sekadar teknis, melainkan juga menyangkut batas-batas penafsiran yang dianggap sah (Boulaouali 2021). Dalam konteks Indonesia, dinamika itu tampak pada penerjemahan ke ragam/dialek lokal (misalnya Banyumasan) yang memperlihatkan adanya "hambatan kultural" saat padanan harus tetap setia pada makna Arab namun tetap komunikatif bagi penutur lokal.

Fenomena tafsir/terjemah Al-Qur'an berbahasa lokal di Indonesia menunjukkan bahwa akses masyarakat terhadap pesan Qur'ani semakin banyak dimediasi oleh kerja penerjemahan yang berhadapan langsung dengan keragaman bahasa sekaligus keragaman cara beragama. Praktik ini tampak, misalnya, pada penerjemahan Al-Qur'an ke dalam bahasa Tolaki di Sulawesi Tenggara yang memperlihatkan bahwa pilihan padanan dan teknik terjemah tidak hanya bersifat linguistik, tetapi juga terkait dengan orientasi teologis (eksklusivisme–inklusivisme–pluralisme) serta kehati-hatian menjaga makna teologis ayat (Gunawan et al. 2025). Fenomena serupa terlihat pada penerjemahan ke dialek Banyumasan, ketika penerjemah menghadapi "hambatan kultural" karena harus menyeimbangkan kesetiaan pada makna Arab dengan karakter sosio-linguistik dialek sasaran (misalnya nuansa egalitarian) agar pesan ayat tetap komunikatif bagi komunitas penutur lokal (Sobirin and Mohd Rosmizi Abd Rahman 2022). Dua contoh ini menegaskan bahwa tafsir/terjemah vernacular di Indonesia berlangsung sebagai negosiasi berlapis: di satu sisi ada tuntutan kesakralan dan fidelitas terhadap struktur-semantik Arab yang mendorong kehati-hatian (cenderung *foreignization*), sementara di sisi lain ada kebutuhan pedagogis untuk membuat pesan wahyu dapat dipahami dan dipraktikkan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari (Gunawan et al. 2025; Haleem 2011). Karena itu, secara sosial praktik vernacular tafsir menempatkan kompetensi kebahasaan Arab dan rujukan pada otoritas tafsir sebagai prasyarat yang menentukan agar adaptasi lokal tidak bergeser menjadi penyederhanaan yang sulit dipertanggungjawabkan (Farhan 2025).

Dalam lanskap keislaman Nusantara, tafsir vernacular (tafsir lokal) menjadi salah satu cara utama umat Muslim mengakses makna Al-Qur'an

melalui bahasa dan imaji keseharian yang dekat dengan ruang hidup mereka baik dalam tradisi pesantren maupun pembacaan masyarakat awam. Praktik ini penting karena membuat pesan ayat lebih komunikatif dan operasional: nilai Qur'ani tidak berhenti sebagai konsep abstrak, tetapi dihadirkan dalam diksi, contoh, metafora, dan gaya penjelasan yang mudah dikenali pembaca. Namun, justru di titik ini muncul tarik-menarik problematik: pembumian makna yang efektif dapat sekaligus memunculkan perdebatan tentang batas antara rekontekstualisasi yang sah dan risiko reduksi/parokialisasi ketika perangkat lokal seolah diperlakukan sebagai makna final ayat. Dinamika tersebut dapat dilihat secara konkret pada al-Ibrīz li Ma'rifati Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azīz karya KH. Bisri Musthofa dan Raudatul 'Irfān fi Ma'rifat al-Qur'an karya Ahmad Sanusi yang sama-sama menggunakan perangkat lokal (diksi, contoh sosial, metafora, serta model pedagogi) untuk menjembatani teks dan horizon pembaca. Karena itu, fenomena ini relevan dikaji secara akademik bukan sekadar untuk mencatat "keunikan bahasa tafsir", melainkan untuk menjelaskan bagaimana lokalitas bekerja sebagai strategi pemahaman yang mengoperasikan proses hermeneutik dalam produksi makna tafsir Nusantara.

Penelitian terkait tafsir vernacular atau tafsir local sudah banyak diteliti oleh para peneliti sebelumnya. Studi-studi tentang *vernacular tafsir* di Indonesia menunjukkan bahwa penafsiran Al-Qur'an dalam bahasa dan konteks lokal bekerja sebagai praktik pedagogis sekaligus kultural yang menegosiasikan pesan wahyu dengan horizon masyarakat setempat. Pada ranah pendidikan, pembelajaran tafsir di kelas dapat berlangsung melalui praktik *translanguaging* (Arab–Indonesia–Inggris) untuk menjaga presisi teks sekaligus memperluas elaborasi sosio-kultural agar ayat terhubung dengan isu kontemporer (Rostandi, Rohandy, and Wasik 2025). Pada ranah integrasi budaya dan identitas, kajian atas *Tafsir al-Iklīl* menegaskan peran tafsir dalam merajut harmoni ajaran Islam dengan tradisi Jawa sehingga membentuk artikulasi identitas Islam-Jawa yang komunikatif (Supriyanto, Gusmian, and Muttaqin 2024), sementara studi tentang tafsir Bugis menyoroti fungsi tafsir lokal dalam proses islamisasi kawasan timur Indonesia serta pelestarian warisan intelektual-budaya melalui dakwah yang berakar pada tradisi (Firdaus et al. 2025). Pada dimensi struktur sosial dan nilai, riset mengenai tafsir/terjemah Madura memperlihatkan negosiasi antara hierarki bahasa lokal dengan spirit kesetaraan Qur'ani (Fikriyati, Fawaid, and Dewi 2021), dan kajian lain menekankan keterkaitan terjemah Madura dengan nilai lokal serta wacana moderasi beragama sekaligus agenda pelestarian bahasa daerah (Jati, Kirwan, and Misbahul Wani 2025). Pada lapisan historis-sosial yang lebih luas, penerimaan *Tafsir al-Azhar* dibaca

sebagai respons tafsir terhadap isu sosial-keagamaan dunia Melayu-Indonesia (Rozi and Zubir 2024), selaras dengan pembacaan yang menempatkan Hamka dalam lintasan "tafsir modern" di kawasan (Sirry 2016). Di level praksis komunitas, penelitian tentang Muslim Sasak di Lombok menegaskan bahwa penafsiran Qur'ani juga bergerak melalui tradisi lisan dan praktik komunal yang beririsan dengan perbedaan teologi dan dinamika ideologis internal, sehingga memperkaya peta ragam *vernacular Qur'anic interpretation* di Indonesia (M. Taufiq and Said 2025).

Berbagai penelitian sebelumnya menegaskan bahwa tafsir lokal berfungsi membumikan pesan Qur'ani dan memudahkan keterpahaman pembaca. Namun berbagai penelitian tersebut masih berhenti pada klaim "lebih mudah dipahami" tanpa mengoperasikan perangkat analisis hermeneutik secara runtut—misalnya menelusuri secara eksplisit relasi horizon teks–pembaca, prapemahaman (Vorverständnis), peran tradisi/otoritas, effective history (Wirkungsgeschichte), hingga titik fusion of horizons sebagai mekanisme terbentuknya makna yang terkonkretkan. Selain itu, kajian komparatif lintas-horizon budaya memang telah muncul, tetapi sering tidak diringkas dalam kerangka matriks dengan dimensi yang setara (diksi, metafora, dan gaya penjelasan), padahal tiga dimensi inilah yang tampak paling dominan sehingga membutuhkan pemetaan komparatif yang lebih sistematis dan dapat diuji kembali.

Penelitian ini bertujuan mengidentifikasi dan mendeskripsikan bentuk-bentuk pribumisasi penafsiran dalam *al-Ibrīz li Ma'rifati Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azīz* serta *Raudatul 'Irfān fi Ma'rifat al-Qur'an*, sekaligus menganalisis mekanisme kerja lokalitas pada masing-masing horizon budaya. Secara lebih spesifik, penelitian ini membandingkan temuan pada tiga dimensi yang setara, yaitu diksi lokal, metafora/analogi, dan gaya penjelasan, untuk menunjukkan pola kesamaan dan perbedaan strategi pembumian makna antara horizon Jawa dan Sunda. Untuk menjelaskan bagaimana makna menjadi "terkonkretkan", analisis dioperasikan dengan kerangka hermeneutika Hans-Georg Gadamer—terutama konsep *fusion of horizons*—sehingga pertemuan antara horizon teks (tuntutan makna minimum) dan horizon mufasir (prah pemahaman, tradisi, dan sejarah pengaruh) dapat ditelusuri secara runtut. Dalam posisi diskursus Tafsir Nusantara, hasil penelitian ini dibaca sebagai strategi pribumisasi/indigenisasi ajaran (Gus Dur) yang menekankan perubahan pada medium komunikasi (bahasa, contoh, imaji), bukan pada substansi, sembari menimbang secara kritis fungsi pedagogisnya dan risiko yang menyertainya—seperti reduksi makna, parokialisasi, dan menguatnya otoritas tradisi yang berpotensi membatasi kemungkinan pembacaan lain.

Penelitian ini menggunakan unit analisis berupa teks tafsir vernacular pada dua karya utama, yaitu *al-Ibrīz li Ma'rifati Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azīz* karya KH. Bisri Musthofa dan *Raudatul 'Irfān fi Ma'rifat al-Qur'an* karya Ahmad Sanusi. Fokus analisis diarahkan pada bentuk-bentuk pribumisasi penafsiran yang tampak dalam pemilihan diksi lokal, analogi/metafora, dan gaya penjelasan. Untuk menjaga keterukuran analisis, penelitian menetapkan empat unit data sebagai sampel teks yang dianalisis mendalam, yakni J1 (QS an-Nūr [24]:27) dan J2 (QS al-Qaṣaṣ [28]:70) pada *al-Ibrīz*, serta S1 (QS al-Baqarah [2]:217) dan S2 (QS al-'Ankabūt [29]:41) pada *Raudatul 'Irfān*. Setiap unit data diperlakukan sebagai "fragmen tafsir" yang merepresentasikan cara kerja horizon budaya (Jawa/Sunda) dalam pembumian makna ayat.

Desain penelitian ini adalah kualitatif-interpretatif dengan pendekatan analisis teks (textual analysis) dan hermeneutika. Desain ini dipilih karena tujuan penelitian bukan mengukur frekuensi kemunculan istilah, melainkan menjelaskan mekanisme pemaknaan: bagaimana perangkat lokal dipakai sebagai medium pembacaan ayat sehingga makna minimum teks dapat dipahami secara konkret dalam pengalaman pembaca. Kerangka hermeneutika Hans-Georg Gadamer dipakai untuk mengoperasikan analisis "pertemuan horizon" (fusion of horizons), sebab konsep ini memungkinkan pembacaan atas tafsir vernacular sebagai hasil dialog antara horizon teks dan horizon historis-budaya mufasir (Gadamer, 2004). Dengan demikian, metode kualitatif-hermeneutik dipandang paling sesuai untuk menautkan temuan tekstual (diksi/metafora/gaya) dengan logika rekontekstualisasi makna dalam tradisi lokal.

Sumber data penelitian terdiri dari data primer dan data sekunder. Data primer adalah teks tafsir pada dua karya yang diteliti, yakni kutipan-kutipan penafsiran yang memuat indikator pribumisasi pada empat unit data (J1–J2; S1–S2). Data sekunder meliputi literatur pendukung mengenai tafsir Nusantara/tafsir vernacular, kajian tentang dua mufasir dan konteks sosial-budaya produksinya, serta rujukan teoretik untuk memperkuat kerangka interpretasi (misalnya hermeneutika Gadamer dan diskursus pribumisasi/indigenisasi Islam). Data sekunder dipakai untuk memberi konteks analitis dan memperkuat argumentasi ketika menjelaskan mengapa istilah lokal tertentu (misalnya *kulo nuwun*, *sowan*, *Hapit*, *Rayagung*, *lancah/ramat lancah*) memiliki daya komunikatif dalam komunitas pembaca masing-masing.

Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui studi dokumentasi dan pembacaan dekat (close reading) terhadap teks tafsir. Prosesnya meliputi: (1) menentukan ayat-ayat yang relevan dengan indikator pribumisasi

berdasarkan kemunculan perangkat lokal; (2) menyalin bagian penafsiran yang memuat diksi/metafora/gaya penjelasan khas; (3) memberi kode data (J1, J2, S1, S2) serta kode kategori (misalnya J-K1, J-K2, S-K1, S-K2, dan opsional S-K3) untuk menandai bentuk pribumisasi; dan (4) mencatat glosarium awal untuk istilah lokal pada kemunculan pertama agar dapat dijelaskan secara konsisten. Teknik ini dipilih karena objek penelitian berupa teks, sehingga dokumentasi sistematis dan close reading menjadi cara paling tepat untuk menangkap nuansa makna dan fungsi retoris istilah lokal di dalam penafsiran.

Analisis data dilakukan dengan analisis tematik-berbasis kategori yang dipadukan dengan operasionalisasi hermeneutika Gadamer. Tahapannya mencakup: (1) reduksi data dengan memilih fragmen tafsir yang paling representatif untuk menunjukkan mekanisme pribumisasi; (2) kategorisasi temuan berdasarkan dimensi yang sama pada dua tafsir—diksi lokal, analogi/metafora, dan gaya penjelasan—sehingga memungkinkan komparasi yang setara; (3) analisis hermeneutik dengan lima langkah (horizon teks, prapemahaman/Vorverständnis, tradisi-otoritas, effective history, dan fusion of horizons) untuk menunjukkan titik pertemuan teks–mufasir pada setiap unit data; dan (4) penyajian komparatif melalui matriks (Jawa vs Sunda) untuk merumuskan persamaan-perbedaan pola pribumisasi secara sistematis. Rangkaian analisis ini memastikan bahwa kesimpulan tidak berhenti pada klaim "lebih mudah dipahami", melainkan menunjukkan secara konkret bagaimana perangkat lokal bekerja sebagai medium rekontekstualisasi makna tanpa melepaskan tuntutan makna minimum teks (Gadamer, 2004).

Hasil dan Pembahasan Penelitian

Pribumisasi dalam al-Ibrīz (Horizon Jawa)

Bagian ini memaparkan temuan tentang pribumisasi penafsiran dalam al-Ibrīz li Ma'rifati Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azīz karya KH. Bisri Musthofa. Temuan dipusatkan pada bagaimana horizon budaya Jawa hadir dalam penafsiran melalui diksi dan etika sosial Jawa dalam adab bertamu (J-K1), serta metafora relasi-hirarki (J-K2) untuk menjelaskan konsep eskatologis "kembali kepada Allah". Penyajian al-Ibrīz yang memakai bahasa Jawa (Arab-Pegon) dan gaya uraian yang mudah diikuti memperkuat fungsinya sebagai tafsir yang dekat dengan pembaca Muslim Jawa, khususnya konteks sosial yang akrab bagi masyarakat awam (Rohkmad 2011).

Pada kategori diksi & etika sosial Jawa, pribumisasi tampak ketika penafsiran mengaitkan pesan ayat dengan norma pergaulan Jawa—terutama tata krama (unggah-ungguh) dalam interaksi tamu dan tuan rumah.

Indikatornya adalah penggunaan ungkapan lokal seperti "*kulo nuwun*" (permisi/minta izin), pemodelan dialog sopan santun, serta penekanan pada kejelasan identitas ketika meminta izin. Dengan cara ini, pesan etis ayat tidak hanya dipahami sebagai perintah normatif, tetapi juga "diterjemahkan" menjadi bentuk praktik sosial yang sudah mapan dalam budaya Jawa (B. Musthofa 1960).

Temuan ini terlihat jelas pada penafsiran QS. an-Nūr [24]:27, khususnya frasa kunci حَتَّىٰ تَسْتَأْنِسُوا وَتُسَلِّمُوا(hingga meminta izin dan memberi salam). Dalam data, penafsiran menampilkan contoh yang membumikan makna izin dan salam melalui situasi bertamu: tamu mengucapkan "*kulo nuwun*", tuan rumah bertanya "*Sinten niku?*", dan tamu diarahkan menjawab identitas secara jelas (misalnya menyebut nama dan keterangan yang memadai), bukan menjawab samar. Pola ini menunjukkan penambahan rincian adab bertamu yang selaras dengan logika unggah-ungguh: sopan, jelas, dan menghormati tuan rumah sebagai pihak yang berhak memberi izin (B. Musthofa 1960).

Selanjutnya, penafsiran KH. Bisri Musthofa menambahkan fa'idah yang berfungsi sebagai panduan praktis adab bertamu. Tafsir ringkasnya: seorang tamu wajib meminta izin sebelum masuk rumah orang lain, yang diekspresikan melalui ungkapan sopan "*kulo nuwun*"; ketika tuan rumah menanyakan identitas ("*Sinten niku*?"), tamu dianjurkan menjawab secara jelas (menyebut nama dan keterangan seperlunya), bukan jawaban umum yang tidak informatif. Pola penjelasan ini menunjukkan bahwa perintah "meminta izin dan memberi salam" dipahami sekaligus dipraktikkan sebagai etika komunikasi yang konkret dalam situasi sosial bertamu (B. Musthofa 1960).

Dalam konteks budaya Jawa, penggunaan frasa "*kulo nuwun*" pada data tersebut berfungsi sebagai indikator pribumisasi karena menghadirkan padanan lokal yang telah menjadi ungkapan dasar "permisi/minta izin" dalam interaksi sehari-hari. Dengan demikian, al-Ibrīz tidak hanya menyampaikan makna normatif ayat, tetapi juga menampilkan prosedur sosial yang lazim dipahami pembaca Jawa: meminta izin terlebih dahulu kepada tuan rumah, menjaga kesantunan tutur, serta menghindari respons yang dianggap kurang etis dalam tata krama (unggah-ungguh) (B. Musthofa 1960).

Selain indikator diksi-etika sosial, data juga memperlihatkan kategori opsional Gaya pedagogi pesantren/masyarakat awam. Penafsiran tidak berhenti pada penjelasan konseptual, tetapi memberi panduan prosedural langkah-demi-langkah berupa contoh dialog dan bentuk respons yang dianggap tepat. Gaya pedagogi semacam ini menjadikan pembaca tidak hanya

"mengerti makna ayat", tetapi juga memperoleh skenario praktik yang konkret tentang bagaimana adab bertamu dijalankan dalam keseharian, sehingga fungsi edukatif tafsir menjadi semakin menonjol (Rohkmad 2011).

Kategori Metafora relasi-hirarki tampak ketika penafsiran memakai istilah relasional khas Jawa untuk menjelaskan konsep teologis-eskatologis. Indikator utamanya adalah pemilihan diksi "*sowan*"—sebuah istilah yang dalam kultur Jawa mengandung nuansa relasi hormat kepada pihak yang lebih tinggi—sebagai padanan untuk gagasan "kembali/di hadapkan" kepada Allah. Dengan begitu, konsep abstrak tentang kepulangan manusia kepada Tuhan dipaparkan melalui kata yang sudah memiliki bobot makna sosial dalam tradisi Jawa.

Temuan kategori metafora relasi-hirarki (J-K2) tampak secara eksplisit pada penafsiran QS. al-Qaṣaṣ [28]:70, terutama pada frasa kunci وَإِلَيْهِ تُرْجَعُونَ (dan kepada-Nya kamu dikembalikan). Pada ayat ini, KH. Bisri Musthofa menegaskan esensi tauhid—bahwa hanya Allah satu-satunya Tuhan yang berhak disembah—serta menautkannya dengan keyakinan eskatologis bahwa manusia kelak akan dikumpulkan dan dikembalikan kepada Allah untuk mempertanggungjawabkan amalnya (Bisri Musthofa 1960, 1331).

Dalam data penafsiran, al-Ibrīz menggunakan diksi relasional yang khas Jawa untuk menguatkan makna "kembali kepada Allah". Kutipan yang menonjol ialah: *"... lan namung marang panjenengan Allah Ta'ala sira kabeh bakal pada di balike (sowan)."* Pilihan kata "*sowan*" dihadirkan sebagai padanan untuk gagasan "dikembalikan" (turuju'/ruju') dan sekaligus memuat nuansa "menghadap" kepada pihak yang berkedudukan lebih tinggi. Secara tekstual, penanda pribumisasi pada bagian ini dapat dilihat dari (1) pemilihan istilah lokal "sowan" sebagai kata kunci, dan (2) konstruksi kalimat yang menggambarkan relasi hamba–Tuhan melalui register penghormatan yang kuat (Bisri Musthofa 1960).

Ayat ini dipahami sebagai penegasan bahwa seluruh puji, hukum, dan ketetapan berada pada Allah, dan manusia pada akhirnya akan "kembali" kepada-Nya; al-Ibrīz membingkai kepulangan itu dengan ungkapan "*sowan*" sehingga "kembali kepada Allah" digambarkan layaknya tindakan menghadap kepada otoritas tertinggi. Penggunaan "*sowan*" berfungsi sebagai indikator pribumisasi karena menghadirkan istilah yang telah memiliki bobot makna sosial dalam pengalaman budaya Jawa—yakni relasi hormat kepada pihak yang lebih tinggi—sehingga konsep eskatologis ayat tampil lebih konkret dan mudah dipahami dalam horizon pembaca Jawa.

Temuan dalam al-Ibrīz menunjukkan bahwa pribumisasi penafsiran bekerja melalui dua jalur yang konsisten. Pertama, membumikan pesan etika ayat dengan perangkat unggah-ungguh—misalnya melalui ungkapan "kulo

nuwun" dan model dialog bertamu pada QS. an-Nūr [24]:27. Kedua, membumikan konsep eskatologis melalui metafora relasional "sowan" pada QS. al-Qaṣaṣ [28]:70. Kedua jalur ini memperlihatkan bahwa horizon Jawa hadir sebagai sumber pemilihan diksi, contoh, dan bentuk penjelasan yang membuat makna ayat lebih mudah dipahami pembaca dalam konteks sosial-budaya mereka. Ringkasan temuan pribumisasi dalam al-Ibrīz li Ma'rifati Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azīz pada dua unit data tersebut disajikan pada Tabel 1.

Tabel 1 Ringkasan temuan pribumisasi dalam al-Ibrīz (Horizon Jawa)

Kode	Ayat	Indikator pribumisasi	Bentuk (diksi/analogi/gaya)	Kutipan kunci
J1	an-Nur:27	*kulo nuwun, unggah-ungguh*	Diksi, tata krama	"kulo nuwun… Sinten niku?"
J2	al-Qashash:70	*sowan*	diksi/metafora relasi	"dibalike (sowan)"

Note. Kutipan kunci ditampilkan secara ringkas untuk menandai indikator pribumisasi pada masing-masing unit data.

Pribumisasi dalam Raudatul 'Irfān (Horizon Sunda)

Bagian ini memaparkan temuan tentang pribumisasi penafsiran dalam *Raudatul 'Irfān fi Ma'rifat al-Qur'an* karya Ahmad Sanusi. Temuan dipusatkan pada bagaimana horizon budaya Sunda hadir dalam penafsiran melalui diksi kalender local (S-K1) —khususnya penyebutan bulan haram dengan istilah yang akrab dalam tradisi Sunda—serta metafora flora-fauna lokal (S-K2) untuk menajamkan perumpamaan ayat. Selain itu, data juga memperlihatkan unsur opsional gaya penjelasan sebab-akibat berupa perluasan deskriptif tentang kondisi alam (S-K3) (misalnya "katiup angin" atau "kena panas panon poe") sebagai penguat makna (Sanusi 1931a).

Pada kategori diksi kalender lokal (S-K1), pribumisasi tampak ketika penafsiran menampilkan rujukan waktu (bulan-bulan mulia/haram) dengan nomenklatur yang hidup dalam tradisi Sunda. Indikatornya adalah penyebutan nama bulan yang tidak seluruhnya mengikuti sebutan hijriah "standar" yang umum dipakai dalam literatur Arab, melainkan memakai istilah lokal yang akrab di telinga pembaca Sunda. Dengan demikian, konsep bulan haram pada ayat tidak hanya diterangkan sebagai ketentuan normatif,

tetapi juga diikatkan pada penamaan kalender yang digunakan dalam konteks sosial-budaya pembacanya (Sanusi 1931a).

Temuan ini terlihat pada penafsiran QS. al-Baqarah [2]:217, khususnya pada istilah kunci الشَّهْرِ الْحَرَامِ. Dalam data, KH. Ahmad Sanusi menyebut bulan-bulan haram dengan daftar: *"bulan haram (Rajab, Hapit, Rayagung, Muharam)"*. Penyebutan *Hapit* (Dzulqa'dah) dan *Rayagung* (Dzulhijjah) menjadi penanda tekstual karena kedua istilah tersebut merupakan sebutan lokal Sunda untuk bulan-bulan hijriah yang dalam penyebutan umum dikenal sebagai *Dzulqa'dah* dan *Dzulhijjah*. Dengan cara ini, rujukan bulan *haram* disajikan dalam padanan istilah kalender lokal sehingga pembaca dapat langsung mengenali konteks waktu yang dimaksud ayat (Sanusi 1931a).

Selain sekadar penyebutan istilah, data S1 juga dapat dibaca sebagai bagian dari kategori gaya penjelasan sebab-akibat (S-K3), karena penafsiran mengurai larangan/ketentuan secara lebih "terang" dan aplikatif: larangan berperang pada bulan haram dipaparkan sebagai dosa besar, lalu dilanjutkan dengan penguatan deskriptif tentang bentuk-bentuk pelanggaran lain yang dipandang lebih besar dosanya. Bentuk elaborasi yang bertahap ini memperlihatkan strategi penjelasan yang tidak berhenti pada satu klausa ayat, melainkan menambahkan keterangan yang mengarahkan pembaca memahami gradasi dan konsekuensi moral dari tindakan yang disebutkan (Sanusi 1931a).

Pada kategori metafora flora-fauna lokal (S-K2), pribumisasi tampak ketika penafsiran menguatkan majaz (*tamsil*) Al-Qur'an dengan kosakata fauna yang akrab dalam horizon Sunda, sekaligus menambahkan deskripsi yang membuat perumpamaan lebih konkret. Indikator S-K2 ditandai oleh penggunaan istilah lokal "*lancah*" dan "*ramat lancah*" sebagai padanan penjelas "rumah laba-laba", sehingga perumpamaan ayat tidak hanya dipahami sebagai gambaran umum, tetapi hadir dalam bentuk ungkapan yang dekat dengan pengalaman keseharian pembaca. Dengan strategi ini, penafsiran menampilkan metafora fauna sebagai perangkat pembumian makna, terutama ketika ayat berbicara tentang kerapuhan sandaran selain Allah (Sanusi 1931b, 53–54).

Temuan ini terlihat pada penafsiran QS. al-'Ankabūt [29]:41, khususnya pada perumpamaan كَمَثَلِ الْعَنكَبُوتِ اتَّخَذَتْ بَيْتًا. Dalam data S2, KH. Ahmad Sanusi menyatakan: *"Jalma-jalma anu nyieun pangeran-pangeran kana berhala eweuh bedana saperti imah lancah (ramat lancah) …"* yang menegaskan bahwa orang yang menjadikan selain Allah sebagai "wali/sandaran" diserupakan dengan rumah laba-laba yang rapuh. Secara tekstual, penanda pribumisasi pada kategori ini tampak pada (1) pemilihan kosakata fauna lokal (lancah/ramat lancah) untuk menguatkan citra ayat dan (2) perluasan

deskriptif yang mengikuti—yakni penjelasan bahwa sarang tersebut mudah rusak karena "dimana-mana katiup angin" atau "ka kenaan panas panon poe". Kombinasi antara kosakata lokal dan elaborasi kondisi alam ini memperjelas pesan utama ayat tentang kelemahan sandaran selain Allah melalui gambaran yang lebih mudah dibayangkan oleh pembaca Sunda (Sanusi 1931b).

temuan dalam *Raudatul 'Irfān* menunjukkan bahwa pribumisasi penafsiran berlangsung melalui strategi kebahasaan dan penguatan imaji yang konsisten dengan horizon Sunda. Pertama, pada (S-K1), konsep bulan haram dipresentasikan dengan diksi kalender lokal—misalnya penyebutan *Hapit* dan *Rayagung*—sehingga rujukan waktu ayat tampil dalam nomenklatur yang akrab bagi pembaca Sunda (Sanusi, 1931a, pp. 53–54). Kedua, pada (S-K2), perumpamaan Qur'ani dipertegas dengan metafora fauna lokal melalui istilah *lancah/ramat lancah*, yang kemudian diperkuat oleh elaborasi deskriptif tentang kondisi alam (tiupan angin dan panas matahari) sebagai unsur opsional (S-K3) (Sanusi, 1931b, pp. 53–54). Pola-pola ini memperlihatkan bahwa penafsiran tidak hanya menyampaikan makna ayat secara normatif, tetapi juga mengonkretkan pesan melalui padanan bahasa dan citra lingkungan yang hidup dalam pengalaman keseharian masyarakat Sunda. Ringkasan temuan pribumisasi dalam *Raudatul 'Irfān* pada dua unit data tersebut disajikan pada Tabel 2.

Tabel 2 Ringkasan temuan pribumisasi dalam Raudatul 'Irfān (Horizon Sunda)

Kode	Ayat	Indikator pribumisasi	Bentuk	Kutipan kunci
S1	al-Baqarah:217	Hapit, Rayagung	diksi kalender	*Rajab, Hapit, Rayagung…*
S2	al-Ankabut:41	lancah/ramat lancah	metafora fauna, elaborasi	*imah lancah (ramat lancah)…*

Note. Kutipan kunci ditampilkan secara ringkas untuk menandai indikator pribumisasi pada masing-masing unit data.

Matriks Komparasi Temuan (Jawa vs Sunda)

Bagian ini menyajikan komparasi temuan pribumisasi penafsiran antara al-Ibrīz li Ma'rifati Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azīz (horizon Jawa) dan Raudatul 'Irfān fi Ma'rifat al-Qur'an (horizon Sunda) dengan menggunakan dimensi analisis yang sama, yaitu diksi lokal, analogi/metafora, dan gaya penjelasan. Perbandingan ini difokuskan pada empat unit data yang telah dipaparkan

sebelumnya: J1–J2 pada al-Ibrīz dan S1–S2 pada Raudatul 'Irfān (Musthofa, 1960a, 1960b; Sanusi, 1931a, 1931b).

Pada dimensi diksi lokal, kedua tafsir sama-sama menampilkan padanan yang bersumber dari khazanah bahasa-budaya setempat sebagai pintu masuk pemahaman ayat. Dalam al-Ibrīz, diksi lokal muncul melalui ungkapan *kulo nuwun* yang melekat pada etika bertamu serta istilah *sowan* yang membawa nuansa relasi hormat kepada pihak yang lebih tinggi (Musthofa, 1960a, p. 1140; 1960b, p. 1331). Sementara itu, dalam Raudatul 'Irfān, diksi lokal tampak pada penyebutan penanggalan hijriah dengan istilah Sunda seperti *Hapit* dan *Rayagung*, serta pemakaian kosakata fauna lokal seperti *lancah/ramat lancah* untuk mengonkretkan perumpamaan (Sanusi, 1931a, pp. 53–54; 1931b, pp. 53–54). Secara deskriptif, kedua tafsir menunjukkan pola serupa: memanfaatkan kata yang "hidup" dalam tradisi lokal untuk memperjelas rujukan dan menurunkan pesan ayat ke dalam ranah yang mudah dikenali.

Pada dimensi analogi/metafora, perbedaannya terletak pada "jenis" metafora yang diaktifkan oleh masing-masing horizon budaya. Dalam al-Ibrīz, metafora *sowan* bekerja sebagai penguat relasi-hirarki (hamba–Tuhan) dan mengarahkan pembaca pada citra "menghadap" kepada otoritas tertinggi sebagai bentuk kepulangan eskatologis (Musthofa, 1960b, p. 1331). Dalam Raudatul 'Irfān, perumpamaan "rumah laba-laba" diperjelas dengan metafora fauna lokal *lancah/ramat lancah* dan penambahan deskripsi rapuhnya sarang akibat angin dan panas matahari (Sanusi, 1931b, pp. 53–54). Dengan demikian, kedua tafsir sama-sama memperjelas makna ayat melalui analogi, tetapi al-Ibrīz cenderung mengandalkan metafora relasional, sedangkan Raudatul 'Irfān menonjolkan metafora alam-fauna.

Pada dimensi gaya penjelasan, pola pedagogi keduanya sama-sama membumikan ayat, tetapi melalui teknik yang berbeda. Al-Ibrīz memperlihatkan gaya prosedural yang praktis, misalnya melalui model dialog "bertamu" (tamu mengucapkan *kulo nuwun*, tuan rumah bertanya *Sinten niku?*, lalu tamu diminta menjawab identitas secara jelas), sehingga pesan ayat diarahkan menjadi langkah-langkah etika komunikasi (Musthofa, 1960a, p. 1140). Sebaliknya, Raudatul 'Irfān cenderung memperkuat penjelasan melalui elaborasi deskriptif dan pola sebab-akibat, misalnya memperinci ragam pelanggaran dan gradasi moral pada QS al-Baqarah:217 serta menggambarkan kerentanan sarang laba-laba terhadap kondisi alam pada QS al-'Ankabut:41 (Sanusi, 1931a, pp. 53–54; 1931b, pp. 53–54). Secara deskriptif, keduanya sama-sama berorientasi pada keterpahaman pembaca, namun al-Ibrīz lebih "dialogis-prosedural", sedangkan Raudatul 'Irfān lebih "deskriptif-eksplanatif."

Ringkasnya, temuan komparatif menunjukkan bahwa fungsi contoh dan perangkat lokalitas pada kedua tafsir bergerak pada tema yang berbeda sesuai konteks budaya masing-masing. Al-Ibrīz menonjol pada pembumian ayat melalui etika sosial dan relasi-hirarki yang dekat dengan tradisi Jawa/pesantren, sementara Raudatul 'Irfān menonjol pada pembumian ayat melalui perangkat penamaan kalender dan citra alam-fauna yang dekat dengan pengalaman Sunda. Meskipun berbeda medium lokalitasnya, keduanya menunjukkan pola yang sama: menghubungkan pesan ayat dengan perangkat bahasa dan pengalaman keseharian pembaca (Musthofa, 1960a, 1960b; Sanusi, 1931a, 1931b).

Untuk memudahkan pembacaan, hasil komparasi pada tiga dimensi, diksi lokal, analogi/metafora, dan gaya penjelasan, diringkas dalam bentuk matriks pada Tabel 3, sehingga persamaan dan perbedaan pola pribumisasi antara *al-Ibrīz* dan *Raudatul 'Irfān* dapat dilihat secara lebih sistematis.

Tabel 3 Matriks komparasi temuan pribumisasi (Jawa vs Sunda)

Dimensi	**al-Ibrīz (Jawa)**	**Raudatul 'Irfān (Sunda)**	**Pola deskriptif**
Diksi lokal	kulo nuwun, sowan	Hapit, Rayagung; lancah/ramat lancah	Sama-sama memakai padanan lokal untuk memudahkan pemahaman dan pengenalan konteks.
Analogi/metafora	Metafora relasi-hirarki (sowan) untuk mengonkretkan "kembali kepada Allah"	Metafora fauna (lancah/ramat lancah) + deskripsi alam untuk menegaskan kerapuhan "rumah laba-laba"	Sama-sama menajamkan pesan ayat lewat analogi; jenis metafora mengikuti horizon budaya setempat.
Gaya penjelasan	Dialog tata krama dan panduan prosedural (praktis)	Elaborasi deskriptif dan pola sebab-akibat (eksplanatif)	Model pedagogi berbeda, namun sama-sama membumikan

			ayat ke pengalaman pembaca.
Fungsi contoh	Etika sosial dan relasi-hirarki	Kalender lokal dan citra alam-fauna	Tema lokalitas berbeda sesuai konteks budaya.

Pribumisasi Makna Al-Qur'an dalam Tafsir Vernakular

Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa pribumisasi penafsiran dalam *al-Ibrīz* dan *Raudatul 'Irfān* bekerja melalui perangkat bahasa dan imaji lokal yang konsisten dengan horizon budaya masing-masing. Pada *al-Ibrīz* (horizon Jawa), temuan utama tampak pada J-K1 berupa pembumian etika sosial melalui ungkapan "kulo nuwun" dan kerangka unggah-ungguh dalam adab bertamu, serta J-K2 berupa penggunaan metafora relasi-hirarki "sowan" untuk mengonkretkan konsep eskatologis "kembali kepada Allah" (Musthofa, 1960a, 1960b). Pada *Raudatul 'Irfān* (horizon Sunda), temuan utama tampak pada S-K1 melalui diksi kalender lokal seperti "Hapit" dan "Rayagung" dalam penjelasan bulan haram, serta S-K2 melalui metafora fauna lokal "lancah/ramat lancah" yang diperkuat elaborasi deskriptif kondisi alam sebagai unsur opsional S-K3 (Sanusi, 1931a, 1931b). Secara komparatif, kedua tafsir sama-sama memanfaatkan padanan lokal untuk membumikan makna ayat, namun berbeda dalam model pedagoginya: *al-Ibrīz* cenderung dialogis-prosedural, sedangkan *Raudatul 'Irfān* lebih deskriptif-eksplanatif melalui citra alam dan sebab-akibat (Musthofa, 1960a; Sanusi, 1931b).

Hasil analisis dengan kerangka Gadamer menunjukkan bahwa setiap unit data memperlihatkan pola yang sama: makna minimum yang dituntut oleh horizon teks bertemu dengan prapemahaman (*Vorverständnis*) mufasir yang dibentuk oleh dunia sosial-budaya tempat ia hidup, lalu diwujudkan dalam pilihan diksi dan contoh yang khas. Pada J1, tuntutan ayat tentang izin dan salam (QS an-Nūr [24]:27) tidak diperlakukan sebagai perintah abstrak semata, melainkan dipahami melalui prapemahaman unggah-ungguh sehingga muncul padanan "*kulo nuwun*" dan skema dialog bertamu; pada J2, frasa "kepada-Nya kamu dikembalikan" (QS al-Qaṣaṣ [28]:70) bertemu dengan prapemahaman relasi-hirarki yang kuat dalam tradisi Jawa/pesantren sehingga "kembali" dipadatkan menjadi "sowan" sebagai tindakan menghadap kepada otoritas tertinggi (Musthofa, 1960a, 1960b). Pada S1, istilah bulan haram (QS al-Baqarah [2]:217) berinteraksi dengan prapemahaman penanggalan lokal sehingga rujukan waktu disebut dengan Hapit–Rayagung; sedangkan pada S2, perumpamaan rumah laba-laba (QS al-

'Ankabūt [29]:41) bertemu dengan prapemahaman kedekatan bahasa Sunda pada citra alam-fauna sehingga mufasir memilih kosakata "lancah/ramat lancah" dan memperjelasnya dengan uraian keadaan lingkungan (Sanusi, 1931a, 1931b). Dengan demikian, prapemahaman tidak tampil sebagai bias yang mengaburkan teks, melainkan sebagai kondisi historis yang membuat makna ayat "berjalan" dalam bahasa pengalaman pembaca (Gadamer 2004).

Temuan juga memperlihatkan bahwa pilihan padanan lokal memperoleh daya jelaskan karena ditopang oleh tradisi dan otoritas sosial yang diakui oleh komunitas pembaca. Dalam horizon Jawa, "kulo nuwun" bekerja sebagai otoritas etika tutur karena ia merupakan norma kesopanan yang mengatur hubungan tamu–tuan rumah; karena itu al-Ibrīz dapat mengembangkan perintah izin-salam menjadi panduan komunikasi yang rinci tanpa kehilangan inti pesan ayat (Musthofa, 1960a). Demikian pula "sowan" memiliki otoritas kultural sebagai istilah relasional yang memuat penghormatan dan jarak hierarkis; ketika dipakai untuk menjelaskan kepulangan eskatologis manusia, istilah tersebut membuat hubungan hamba–Tuhan segera terbaca dalam register penghormatan yang mapan di pengalaman sosial Jawa/pesantren (Musthofa, 1960b). Dalam horizon Sunda, penyebutan Hapit–Rayagung memperoleh otoritas sebagai pengetahuan waktu yang hidup dalam tradisi lokal, sementara "lancah/ramat lancah" memperoleh otoritas sebagai kosakata keseharian yang mengaktifkan citra konkret; keduanya membuat pesan ayat hadir dalam perangkat rujukan yang familier, sehingga argumentasi tafsir terasa "dekat" tanpa harus menggeser struktur dasar makna tekstual (Sanusi, 1931a, 1931b). Di sini, tradisi berfungsi sebagai jaringan makna yang memungkinkan mufasir memilih kata, contoh, dan gaya penjelasan yang komunikatif (Gadamer, 2004).

Dari sisi effective history (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), istilah-istilah lokal itu bekerja bukan hanya sebagai terjemahan, melainkan sebagai pemanggil pengalaman kolektif yang sudah "aktif" dalam kesadaran pembaca. "Kulo nuwun" memanggil memori sosial tentang adab dan batas-batas sopan santun; "sowan" memanggil pengalaman menghadap pihak yang lebih tinggi; Hapit–Rayagung memanggil kebiasaan penandaan waktu; dan "lancah/ramat lancah" memanggil imaji keseharian tentang sarang laba-laba yang rapuh—yang kemudian diperkuat oleh uraian angin dan panas matahari (Musthofa, 1960a, 1960b; Sanusi, 1931a, 1931b). Pada titik inilah fusion of horizons tampak sebagai rekontekstualisasi: horizon teks tetap menjaga tuntutan makna minimumnya (izin-salam, ruju' kepada Allah, bulan haram, kelemahan sandaran selain Allah), tetapi horizon mufasir mengonkretkannya melalui perangkat budaya Jawa/Sunda sehingga makna ayat menjadi lebih "berfungsi" dalam dunia pembaca. Dengan kata lain, peleburan horizon pada

data penelitian ini bukan penciptaan makna baru yang lepas dari teks, melainkan penghadiran makna tekstual ke dalam situasi historis-budaya yang memungkinkan pesan ayat dipahami secara hidup dan operasional (Gadamer, 2004).

Temuan dalam *al-Ibrīz* dan *Raudatul 'Irfān* menunjukkan bahwa lokalitas bekerja sebagai strategi indigenisasi ajaran dalam pengertian pribumisasi, yakni "pemahaman terhadap nash dikaitkan dengan masalah-masalah di negeri kita" (Wahid 2001). Pada horizon Jawa, padanan seperti *kulo nuwun* dan *sowan* memfungsikan etika izin-salam serta kepulangan eskatologis sebagai praktik dan imaji yang akrab dalam unggah-ungguh dan relasi hormat; pada horizon Sunda, *Hapit–Rayagung* dan *lancah/ramat lancah* menjangkar rujukan waktu serta perumpamaan Qur'ani pada sistem pengetahuan kalender dan citra alam yang hidup dalam pengalaman pembaca (Musthofa, 1960a, 1960b; Sanusi, 1931a, 1931b). Pola ini menegaskan bahwa yang berubah adalah medium komunikasi (diksi, contoh, metafora), bukan substansi; selaras dengan batas pribumisasi bahwa "adat tidak bisa mengubah nash itu sendiri melainkan hanya mengubah atau mengembangkan aplikasinya saja" (Wahid 2001). Dengan demikian, pribumisasi pada dua tafsir tersebut dapat dibaca sebagai upaya membuat makna ayat bekerja efektif dalam konteks sosial-budaya lokal tanpa jatuh pada sinkretisme yang mengaburkan inti normatif-teologis teks.

Secara umum, temuan penelitian ini sejalan dengan arus besar kajian tafsir vernakular yang menegaskan bahwa penafsiran Al-Qur'an dalam bahasa lokal berfungsi sebagai medium transmisi makna agar pesan ayat dapat diakses komunitas Muslim non-Arab dan beroperasi dalam konteks keseharian mereka. Dalam lanskap studi kawasan Melayu-Indonesia, misalnya, *The Qur'ān in the Malay-Indonesian World: Context and Interpretation* menempatkan tafsir lokal sebagai bagian dari sejarah panjang pengalihan otoritas dan pengetahuan Qur'ani yang selalu bernegosiasi dengan konteks, bahasa, dan kebutuhan pembaca (Daneshgar, Riddell, and Rippin 2016). Hasil penelitian ini menguatkan argumen tersebut pada level mikro-teks: padanan diksi (kulo nuwun; sowan; Hapit–Rayagung; lancah/ramat lancah) dan pilihan gaya pemaparan (dialog prosedural vs deskripsi alam) memperlihatkan bagaimana vernakularisasi bekerja sebagai strategi pembumian makna ayat.

Jika dibandingkan dengan studi vernakular berbasis komunitas tertentu, temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan pola yang beririsan sekaligus berbeda. Penelitian Fikriyati et al. (Fikriyati, Fawaid, and Dewi 2021) menekankan vernakularisasi sebagai proses negosiasi pesan Qur'ani (misalnya tema kesetaraan manusia) dengan tradisi sosial yang hierarkis (Fikriyati, Fawaid,

and Dewi 2021). Persamaannya, penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa perangkat lokal digunakan untuk membuat pesan ayat komunikatif di dalam struktur sosial setempat—misalnya metafora "*sowan*" yang mengaktifkan register relasi-hirarki dalam horizon Jawa. Perbedaannya terletak pada fokus bukti: studi Madura lebih menonjolkan negosiasi tema normatif tertentu, sedangkan penelitian ini menelusuri negosiasi itu melalui unit-unit data yang spesifik (J1–S2) dan membedakannya menurut dimensi diksi, metafora, serta gaya penjelasan lintas horizon budaya (Jawa vs Sunda).

Dibandingkan dengan kajian yang menekankan fungsi sosial-edukatif tafsir lokal dalam komunitas pembaca, penelitian ini juga menegaskan bahwa tafsir vernakular memperkuat aksesibilitas dan pedagogi Qur'ani. Studi Hussin & Majid (2014), misalnya, menyoroti signifikansi komentar Qur'ani Melayu sebagai medium pemahaman bagi komunitas Muslim setempat. Titik tambah penelitian ini adalah memperlihatkan bahwa fungsi edukatif tersebut tidak monolitik: pada *al-Ibrīz* ia hadir sebagai pedagogi dialogis-prosedural (contoh dialog, langkah etika komunikasi), sedangkan pada *Raudatul 'Irfān* ia lebih deskriptif-eksplanatif (penguatan citra alam, pola sebab-akibat). Dengan demikian, kontribusi penelitian ini memperluas diskusi dari sekadar "bahasa lokal memudahkan" menjadi "cara membumikan ayat berbeda-beda menurut perangkat pedagogi yang dipilih."

Jika disejajarkan dengan literatur tentang model tafsir sosial (*social exegesis*) yang menekankan relevansi praktis ajaran, hasil penelitian ini memiliki kesamaan pada orientasi menjadikan ayat "berfungsi" dalam kehidupan, namun menambahkan perangkat analisis yang lebih terstruktur untuk membuktikan mekanismenya. Kajian tentang pengembangan model tafsir sosial di Indonesia, misalnya, menyoroti penggunaan bahasa yang sederhana dan orientasi aplikatif dalam pengajaran tafsir (I. Taufiq and Hassan 2016). Perbedaannya, penelitian ini tidak berhenti pada klaim keterpahaman, melainkan mengoperasionalkan hermeneutika Hans-Georg Gadamer untuk menunjukkan titik pertemuan horizon teks–pembaca secara konkret pada empat unit data, lalu merangkumnya dalam matriks komparatif tiga dimensi (diksi—metafora—gaya penjelasan).

Ringkasnya, novelty penelitian ini dapat dirumuskan pada tiga sisi: (1) komparasi dua tafsir vernakular Nusantara (Jawa–Sunda) dalam satu desain analisis dengan dimensi yang sama; (2) penggunaan kerangka Gadamer sebagai "mesin analisis" yang menelusuri proses pembentukan makna pada unit data spesifik, bukan sekadar penegasan bahwa tafsir lokal "lebih mudah"; dan (3) penemuan variasi model pedagogi (dialogis-prosedural vs deskriptif-eksplanatif) sebagai mekanisme inti pribumisasi penafsiran—sehingga vernakularisasi dipahami bukan hanya fenomena kebahasaan,

melainkan strategi hermeneutik yang memediasi teks, tradisi, dan pengalaman pembaca.

Temuan menunjukkan bahwa pribumisasi penafsiran memiliki fungsi yang nyata bagi efektivitas komunikasi dan internalisasi ajaran, tetapi sekaligus memuat potensi disfungsi jika perangkat lokal dibaca tanpa kendali hermeneutik. Dari sisi fungsi (positif), penggunaan diksi dan contoh lokal memperkuat komunikasi dakwah untuk pembaca awam karena makna ayat dihadirkan dalam register yang familier—misalnya adab izin-salam menjadi prosedur sosial "kulo nuwun" dan dialog bertamu, atau rujukan waktu "bulan haram" dijangkar pada nomenklatur kalender yang dikenal (Musthofa, 1960a; Sanusi, 1931a). Selain itu, pribumisasi membantu memperjelas konsep abstrak melalui pengalaman sosial yang mapan: konsep eskatologis "kembali kepada Allah" dikonkretkan lewat metafora relasional "sowan", sementara perumpamaan Qur'ani ditajamkan dengan imaji fauna dan kondisi alam yang dekat dengan keseharian (Musthofa, 1960b; Sanusi, 1931b). Pada saat yang sama, pembumian semacam ini menguatkan internalisasi nilai etika karena ayat tidak diposisikan sebagai teks normatif yang jauh, melainkan sebagai pedoman yang dapat langsung dipraktikkan dan dibayangkan dalam kehidupan sosial, sebagaimana pola umum *vernacular tafsir* di Indonesia yang berorientasi pada keterpahaman dan penguatan identitas religius-lokal (Fikriyati, Fawaid, and Dewi 2021; Supriyanto, Gusmian, and Muttaqin 2024).

Pada satu sisi, perangkat lokal memang efektif untuk "membuat ayat bekerja" dalam bahasa pengalaman pembaca; namun pada sisi lain, terdapat potensi disfungsi yang perlu dibaca sebagai batas kewaspadaan metodologis. Disfungsi pertama ialah reduksi makna, ketika perangkat lokal beroperasi terlalu dominan sehingga pesan Qur'ani seolah "melekat" dan bahkan "setara" dengan satu bentuk adat tertentu; akibatnya, horizon makna yang semestinya lintas-konteks menyempit dan pembaca dapat menganggap model lokal sebagai makna final ayat (Nugraha, Permanik, and Rohmana 2025). Disfungsi kedua ialah parokialisasi, yakni kecenderungan tafsir vernacular menjadi terlalu internal bagi komunitas budaya tertentu: semakin padat idiom dan rujukan lokal, semakin besar kebutuhan pada parateks—catatan kaki atau glosarium—agar pembaca luar-budaya tetap dapat mengakses makna tanpa kehilangan konteks (Nugraha, Permanik, and Rohmana 2025). Disfungsi ketiga ialah pembekuan otoritas tradisi, ketika legitimasi istilah lokal (yang semula komunikatif karena ditopang norma kesopanan, pengetahuan kalender, atau kebiasaan tutur) bergeser menjadi klaim "kebenaran tunggal" yang menutup kemungkinan pembacaan lain; pada titik ini, tradisi berhenti menjadi medium dialog teks–pembaca dan berubah menjadi pagar yang membatasi penyingkapan makna, padahal

proses pemahaman dalam kerangka hermeneutika justru mensyaratkan keterbukaan, kesadaran historis, dan pengakuan akan keterbatasan diri agar makna tidak dibekukan pada satu bentuk tradisi tertentu (Gadamer 2004).

Implikasi temuan ini menegaskan kebutuhan tindak lanjut pada level akademik, pendidikan, komunitas, dan akses pengetahuan agar pribumisasi penafsiran dapat dimanfaatkan secara produktif sekaligus terjaga batasnya. Pertama, pada ranah kurikulum pesantren dan perguruan tinggi, kajian Tafsir Nusantara dapat diinstitusionalisasi sebagai *studi kasus hermeneutik* dengan modul khusus yang melatih pembacaan horizon teks–pembaca (misalnya melalui unit data al-Ibrīz dan Raudatul 'Irfān) sehingga mahasiswa/santri memahami mekanisme pembumian makna, bukan sekadar mengutip hasil tafsir. Kedua, pada ranah penerbitan ilmiah dan editorial, perlu dirumuskan standar minimal untuk tafsir lokal—terutama glosarium wajib bagi istilah kultural (misalnya *kulo nuwun, sowan, hapit, rayagung, lancah/ramat lancah*), disertai catatan singkat tentang padanan makna tekstual dan konteks pemakaiannya agar risiko parokialisasi dan reduksi makna dapat diminimalkan. Ketiga, pada ranah dakwah dan edukasi, pendidik/da'i dapat didorong memakai padanan lokal sebagai strategi komunikasi yang terkontrol: istilah lokal digunakan untuk menjembatani pemahaman, tetapi selalu disertai penegasan "makna minimum" ayat dan batas aplikasinya, sehingga lokalitas berfungsi sebagai medium pedagogis, bukan pengganti teks. Keempat, pada ranah digitalisasi dan akses, pengembangan edisi anotatif layak diprioritaskan—misalnya versi digital yang memuat catatan kaki, indeks istilah budaya, indeks ayat, serta penanda kategori (diksi, metafora, gaya penjelasan)—agar Tafsir Nusantara lebih mudah dipelajari lintas komunitas, lintas disiplin, dan lintas generasi pembaca.

Simpulan

Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pribumisasi penafsiran dalam *al-Ibrīz* (horizon Jawa) dan *Raudatul 'Irfān* (horizon Sunda) bekerja terutama melalui perangkat bahasa dan imaji lokal yang membuat makna ayat menjadi lebih konkret dan operasional dalam kehidupan pembaca. Pada *al-Ibrīz*, pembumian tampak jelas melalui diksi etika sosial seperti *kulo nuwun* yang memodelkan adab izin–salam secara prosedural, serta metafora relasional *sowan* yang mengonkretkan gagasan eskatologis "kembali kepada Allah" dalam register hormat-hirarkis yang familier bagi pembaca Jawa. Pada *Raudatul 'Irfān*, pembumian muncul melalui diksi kalender lokal (*Hapit–Rayagung*) untuk menjembatani konsep "bulan haram", serta metafora fauna lokal (*lancah/ramat lancah*) yang diperkuat elaborasi kondisi alam untuk menajamkan perumpamaan kerapuhan sandaran selain Allah. Secara

komparatif, kedua tafsir sama-sama memfungsikan lokalitas sebagai strategi pemahaman, tetapi berbeda pada model pedagoginya: *al-Ibrīz* cenderung dialogis-prosedural, sedangkan *Raudatul 'Irfān* cenderung deskriptif-eksplanatif. Temuan ini sekaligus menegaskan dimensi reflektif: pribumisasi memiliki fungsi pedagogis yang kuat, namun perlu dibaca bersama risikonya—reduksi makna, parokialisasi, dan pembekuan otoritas tradisi—agar lokalitas tetap menjadi medium, bukan "makna final" ayat.

Dari sisi kontribusi ilmiah, penelitian ini memperkuat kajian tafsir vernakular di Indonesia dengan tiga sumbangan utama. Pertama, penelitian ini menawarkan komparasi Jawa–Sunda yang diringkas secara sistematis dalam matriks tiga dimensi yang setara (diksi lokal, metafora/analogi, dan gaya penjelasan), sehingga perbedaan dan persamaan strategi pembumian makna dapat dilihat secara terukur dan dapat diuji kembali. Kedua, penelitian ini tidak berhenti pada klaim umum "tafsir lokal memudahkan pemahaman", melainkan mengoperasikan kerangka hermeneutika Gadamer (horizon teks–pembaca, prapemahaman, tradisi/otoritas, *effective history*, dan *fusion of horizons*) untuk menunjukkan mekanisme terbentuknya makna pada unit data yang spesifik. Ketiga, penelitian ini menempatkan temuan tersebut dalam diskursus pribumisasi/indigenisasi (Gus Dur) dengan membaca lokalitas sebagai strategi komunikasi-interpretatif (perubahan medium), sambil mempertimbangkan fungsi dan disfungsi secara seimbang, sehingga memberi landasan konseptual bagi tindak lanjut akademik, editorial, edukatif, dan digitalisasi tafsir Nusantara.

Namun demikian, penelitian ini memiliki beberapa keterbatasan. Pertama, unit data dibatasi pada empat fragmen, sehingga temuan belum merepresentasikan keseluruhan pola pribumisasi dalam kedua kitab secara menyeluruh. Kedua, fokus analisis ditekankan pada tiga dimensi (diksi–metafora–gaya), sehingga aspek lain seperti jaringan sanad keilmuan, konteks sejarah produksi teks yang lebih luas, resepsi pembaca, serta dinamika transmisi lisan–digital belum dieksplorasi mendalam. Ketiga, penelitian ini berfokus pada dua horizon budaya (Jawa dan Sunda), sehingga generalisasi ke horizon Nusantara lain (Bugis, Madura, Sasak, Minang, dan seterusnya) masih terbuka. Karena itu, penelitian lanjutan disarankan untuk (1) memperluas korpus ayat dan segmen tafsir, (2) menambahkan dimensi analisis seperti parateks (glosarium/catatan kaki), strategi argumentasi, dan intertekstualitas rujukan tafsir, serta (3) memperluas komparasi lintas wilayah dan menggabungkan studi resepsi (pesantren/pengajian/digital) agar peta kerja pribumisasi tafsir Nusantara semakin komprehensif dan kuat secara metodologis.

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Re-reading Gender-Related Verses through Qira'at Variation: Semantic and Legal-Interpretive Implications in Surat al-Nisa'

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Abstrak

Artikel ini mengkaji bagaimana variasi qira'at dalam ayat-ayat terpilih terkait gender dalam Surah an-Nisa' membentuk ekspansi semantik serta konsekuensi legal-interpretatif dalam eksegesis Al-Qur'an. Studi ini dilatarbelakangi oleh bertahannya pembacaan monolitik terhadap ayat-ayat gender dalam diskursus Muslim kontemporer, khususnya pada isu-isu seperti poligami, kekerasan terhadap perempuan, otoritas rumah tangga, dan persentuhan fisik dalam konteks ritual. Dengan menggunakan desain penelitian pustaka kualitatif, artikel ini menerapkan pendekatan tafsir Al-Qur'an dengan perhatian khusus pada tafsir tematik dan analisis qira'at. Unit analisis terdiri dari variasi bacaan dalam QS. an-Nisa' 4:3, 4:19, 4:34, dan 4:43. Data primer bersumber dari ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an yang relevan, karya-karya qira'at klasik, dan literatur tafsir, sedangkan data sekunder diambil dari studi ilmiah mengenai interpretasi gender dalam Al-Qur'an. Data dianalisis melalui analisis komparatif-tekstual dan interpretatif. Studi ini menemukan, pertama, bahwa variasi qira'at menghasilkan ekspansi semantik dengan membuka kemungkinan leksikal, relasional, dan etis yang lebih luas dalam ayat-ayat terkait gender. Kedua, perbedaan semantik tersebut menghasilkan konsekuensi legal-interpretatif yang berbeda, termasuk pembacaan yang lebih ketat mengenai poligami, perlindungan yang lebih luas terhadap kekerasan pada perempuan, pemahaman yang lebih resiprokal (timbal balik) tentang tanggung jawab rumah tangga, serta kemajemukan ketetapan hukum-ritual terkait persentuhan fisik. Ketiga, temuan ini mendukung pembacaan ulang ayat-ayat gender di luar kerangka interpretatif monolitik berbasis riwayat Hafsh. Artikel ini berargumen bahwa pluralitas qira'at tidak seharusnya diperlakukan sebagai isu teknis periferal (pinggiran), melainkan sebagai sumber daya metodologis internal untuk interpretasi Al-Qur'an yang berwawasan gender secara lebih dialogis, kontekstual, dan berbasis teks secara mendalam.

Kata Kunci: *ayat gender; interpretasi hukum; qira'at; ekspansi semantik; Surah an-Nisa'; tafsir.*

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Abstract

This article examines how qira'at variation in selected gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa' shapes semantic expansion and legal-interpreive consequences in Qur'anic exegesis. The study is motivated by the persistence of monolithic readings of gender verses in contemporary Muslim discourse, particularly on issues such as polygamy, violence against women, household authority, and bodily contact in ritual contexts. Using a qualitative library research design, this article employs a Qur'anic exegesis approach with particular attention to thematic tafsir and qira'at analysis. The unit of analysis consists of variant readings in Q. al-Nisa' 4:3, 4:19, 4:34, and 4:43. Primary data are drawn from the relevant Qur'anic verses, classical qira'at works, and tafsir literature, while secondary data are taken from scholarly studies on gender-related Qur'anic interpretation. The data are analyzed through comparative-textual and interpretive analysis. The study finds, first, that qira'at variation produces semantic expansion by opening broader lexical, relational, and ethical possibilities in gender-related verses. Second, these semantic differences generate distinct legal-interpreive consequences, including stricter readings of polygamy, broader protections against violence toward women, more reciprocal understandings of household responsibility, and plural ritual-legal rulings concerning bodily contact. Third, these findings support a re-reading of gender verses beyond a monolithic Hafs-based interpretive framework. This article argues that qira'at plurality should be treated not as a peripheral technical issue, but as an internal methodological resource for more dialogical, contextual, and textually grounded gender-sensitive Qur'anic interpretation.

Keyword: gender verses; legal interpretation; qira'at; semantic expansion; Surat al-Nisa'; tafsir.

Introduction

Gender-related Qur'anic verses continue to occupy a central place in contemporary Muslim debates, especially in matters of polygamy, domestic violence, household leadership, and bodily relations in ritual contexts. These verses are not discussed only in academic settings, but also circulate in sermons, fatwas, classrooms, family advice, and everyday religious discourse, so their interpretation directly affects gender relations, family authority, and the social position of women. This urgency is inseparable from the broader reality of gender-based harm in contemporary society. Globally, nearly one in three women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime (WHO, 2024), while in Indonesia the figure is reported at around one in four women, showing that questions of violence, power, and protection remain socially pressing rather than merely theoretical (Komnas Perempuan, 2025). In this context, Qur'anic verses related to women are repeatedly invoked not only as theological references, but also as normative grounds for

shaping attitudes toward marriage, obedience, bodily boundaries, and the legitimacy or illegitimacy of coercive practices.

At the same time, the problem is not simply that gender verses are debated, but that they are often approached through a dominant and seemingly self-evident interpretive horizon, making their meanings appear singular, final, and closed to alternative readings. Scholarship on Qur'anic gender interpretation has shown that verses on marriage, testimony, and gender roles were historically elaborated within increasingly male-dominated interpretive and legal hierarchies, even though those hierarchies were shaped by changing social and intellectual contexts rather than by one immutable exegetical logic (Bauer, 2015). In parallel, research on qira'at has argued that variant readings are crucial for approaching gender-related verses more adequately, since they preserve alternative semantic possibilities that are often flattened in dominant readings (Muttaqin, 2016). For that reason, the social-intellectual issue addressed in this article is not merely "gender in Islam," but the narrowing of the interpretive horizon of gender-related verses through a dominant single-reading framework that risks simplifying the textual plurality of the Qur'an itself.

Previous studies may be grouped into three broad categories. First, a substantial body of scholarship treats qira'at as a scientific discipline in its own right, focusing on its historical formation, canonization, sanad authentication, and textual transmission. In this category, qira'at is primarily examined as part of the discipline of ʿulūm al-Qur'an, especially in relation to the authority of canonical readings and the scholarly processes that shaped their preservation (Muna & Munirul Ikhwan, 2023; Shah, 2020). Second, another group of studies has shown that qira'at differences affect the interpretation of Qur'anic verses and may also influence legal reasoning and the application of Islamic teachings. Research on family law verses, for example, demonstrates that qira'at diversity can shape legal interpretation in concrete juridical domains, while other studies show that variant readings affect meaning production and exegesis more broadly (Mustopa, 2024; Ummah, Gunarti, & Ahmadi, 2024). These two strands confirm that qira'at is not merely a technical matter of recitation, but also an important interpretive resource.

Third, a large body of scholarship on gender-related Qur'anic interpretation has examined women-related verses, patriarchal exegesis, and the critique of hierarchical readings, often through ethical, historical, or feminist hermeneutics. Such studies have shown that many verses concerning marriage, testimony, and gender roles were historically interpreted within male-dominated exegetical and legal frameworks (Bauer,

2015), while some more specific works have already highlighted the importance of qira'at theory for approaching gender verses more contextually (Muttaqin, 2016). However, these studies have not sufficiently examined the direct relationship between qira'at variation and selected gender-related verses in Surat al-Nisa', nor have they systematically shown how qira'at simultaneously shapes semantic expansion and legal-interpreive consequences in those verses. More importantly, few studies have used qira'at findings as an internal textual basis for questioning monolithic Hafs-based readings from within the Islamic tradition itself. It is precisely this gap that the present article seeks to address.

This article aims to examine qira'at variation in selected gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa', particularly Q. 4:3, 4:19, 4:34, and 4:43, in order to clarify how these variant readings shape both semantic expansion and legal-interpreive consequences. More specifically, the article seeks to show that qira'at variation does not merely multiply recitational forms, but also reconfigures the semantic and normative horizons through which gender-related verses are understood in tafsir and legal reasoning. By doing so, this study contributes to the growing scholarship on gender and Qur'anic interpretation by arguing that the re-reading of gender verses need not rely solely on external ethical critique, but can be grounded in the internal textual plurality of the qira'at tradition itself. In this sense, the article positions its analysis as a response to the gap in previous studies by demonstrating that selected gender-related verses in Surat al-Nisa' can be read beyond a monolithic interpretive framework when their qira'at variation is taken seriously.

This study employs a qualitative library research design with a Qur'anic exegesis approach, particularly thematic tafsir and qira'at analysis. The unit of analysis consists of variant readings in selected gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa', namely Q. 4:3, 4:19, 4:34, and 4:43. Primary data were drawn from the relevant Qur'anic verses, classical qira'at works, and tafsir literature, while secondary data were obtained from scholarly studies on Qur'anic gender discourse and related academic articles. The data were collected through documentation and close textual reading, then analyzed using comparative-textual and interpretive analysis. The comparative-textual analysis was used to identify differences in variant readings and their semantic implications, while the interpretive analysis was used to examine how these variations shape broader exegetical and legal-interpreive consequences in gender-related Qur'anic discourse.

RESULTS

Qira'at Variation and Semantic Expansion in Gender Verses

The first finding of this study shows that qira'at variation in selected gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa' demonstrates that the Qur'anic text does not operate through a single and closed semantic horizon. Within the discipline of qira'at, variant readings are not treated as arbitrary readerly inventions, but as an authoritative tradition concerned with the preservation and transmission of Qur'anic recitation based on established lines of transmission (Utsman, 1988, pp. 36–37). In this sense, qira'at functions as a legitimate textual gateway for identifying semantic plurality within the Qur'an. As al-Zarkashī explains, the Qur'an and qira'at are not identical in definition: the Qur'an is the revealed divine discourse, whereas qira'at refers to the variations in the pronunciation and articulation of that revealed discourse, whether in letters or modes of recitation (Al-Zarkasyī, 2006, p. 222; Al-Zarqānī, 2000, p. 17). Based on this conceptual foundation, the qira'at variants found in several gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa', as mapped in the qira'at tradition, indicate that these verses preserve more than one possible semantic direction, so that their meanings cannot be reduced to a monolithic reading alone (Al-Qāḍlī, 1981, pp. 75–89). Accordingly, the textual evidence examined in this study suggests that qira'at variation contributes to semantic expansion in ways that are directly relevant to the interpretation of gender verses.

To make the findings more analytically understandable, the semantic implications of qira'at variations in the selected gender-related verses are mapped in Table 1. This table provides a concise visualization of how different readings generate semantic shifts and broaden the interpretive scope of the verses before each case is discussed in greater detail.

Tabel 1 — Pemetaan Variasi Qira'at dan Perluasan Makna

Verse	Variant Reading	Core Semantic Contrast	Semantic Expansion	Main References
Q. 4:3	tuqsitū / taqsitū	fairness / injustice-neglect	justice expands into non-oppression, non-neglect, and preparedness	Al-Qurthuby, 2006, p. 25; `Atiyyah, 2001, p. 70; Al-Zamakhsyarī, 2009; Al-

				Andalusī, 2010, p. 504
Q. 4:19	karhan / kurhan; mubayyinah / mubayyanah	coercion / hatred-burden	prohibition expands from forced inheritance to abusive retention and humiliation	al-Jazari, 1992, p. 105; Al-Suyūṭī, 2003, pp. 234–235; Al-Ṭabarī, 1994, p. 649; Al-Dimasyqī, 1998, p. 256
Q. 4:34	grammatical variation	divine safeguarding / active moral agency	piety broadens from passive status to ethical agency	Habsy, 2001, p. 185
Q. 4:43	lamastum / lāmastum	touch / mutual contact-intercourse	bodily relation read through multiple semantic levels	Rāzī, 1981, p. 115; Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, pp. 223–224

In Q. al-Nisa' 4:3, the main semantic variation appears in the reading of the expression *tuqsitū* and *taqsitū*. According to al-Qurṭubī, the first reading derives from *aqsatha*, which means to act justly, whereas the second derives from *qasatha*, which conveys the sense of being unjust, cheating, or deviating from fairness; in this second reading, the particle *lā* is understood as *zā'idah*, so the expression points to the fear of acting unjustly toward women and orphans (Al-Qurthuby, 2006, p. 25). This distinction is also supported by al-Zamakhsharī and Ibn 'Aṭiyyah, who treat the two readings as carrying different semantic implications, although Abū Ḥayyān, citing al-Zajjāj, records the view that both may still converge on the broader sense of justice (`Atiyyah, 2001, p. 70; Al-Andalusī, 2010, p. 504; Al-Zamakhsyarī, 2009).

This variation shows that the verse does not speak of justice only in a narrow and abstract sense, but opens a wider semantic field that also includes the avoidance of ظلم, neglect, and harmful treatment toward women and orphaned girls. In this respect, the second reading intensifies the ethical demand of the verse by suggesting that polygamy cannot be separated from the risk of injustice, abandonment, and failure of responsibility, thus making the condition more stringent before marriage is even undertaken (Widayati, 2015). Read in this way, qira'at variation expands the meaning of justice from a formal legal condition into a more complex moral responsibility, which is ~~why several contemporary readings see this semantic widening as important~~

for gender-sensitive interpretation, even without turning the verse into a purely normative argument about monogamy (Al-Bukhārī, 1987, p. 47; Kodir, 2017, pp. 194–196, 2019, p. 423; Yusuf, 2008, p. 133).

In Q. al-Nisa' 4:19, semantic expansion is particularly visible in two textual points: the reading of *karhan/kurhan* and that of *fāḥishah mubayyinah/mubayyanah*. Al-Jazarī records that Ḥamzah, al-Kisā'ī, and Khalaf read *kurhan* with ḍammah on the kāf, whereas the other canonical readers recite *karhan* with fatḥah; in addition, Ibn Kathīr and 'Āṣim through Shu'bah read *mubayyanah* with fatḥah (Al-Jazarī, 1992, p. 105). As explained in the tradition attributed to Ibn 'Abbās and transmitted by al-Suyūṭī, *karhan* points to coercion or compulsion, while *kurhan* refers to hatred, hardship, or burdensome treatment directed at women (Al-Suyūṭī, 2003, pp. 234–235). This semantic distinction is reinforced by al-Ṭabarī's account of women being retained until death for the sake of inheritance (Al-Ṭabarī, 1994, p. 649) and by Ibn 'Ādil's explanation of a wife being neglected or restrained because of her husband's dislike toward her (Al-Dimasyqī, 1998, p. 256). The historical report on the Medinan practice of seizing widows as objects of male control also clarifies the social setting in which this prohibition emerged (Ath-Thabari, 2008, p. 645).

These qira'at variants show that the prohibition in this verse cannot be reduced to a single act of forcibly inheriting women, but instead opens a broader spectrum of violence against them. The semantic field of the verse expands from coercion to abusive retention, humiliation, dispossession, and confinement rooted in hatred or control. This broader horizon is further supported by the clause *ta'ḍulūhunna*, which classical exegetes connect to various forms of harming, constraining, and pressuring wives in order to reclaim property or deny them their rights (Al-Jaṣṣāṣ, 1993, p. 157; Kathīr & Al-Ṣābūnī, 1981, p. 368; Munawwir, 1997, pp. 941–942). In this sense, the qira'at variation in Q. al-Nisa' 4:19 expands the verse from a narrow prohibition into a wider textual basis for recognizing physical, economic, and psychological violence against women, while later interpretive references only confirm that this semantic widening has real legal and ethical significance (Riḍā, 1947, p. 370; Rofiq, 2003, pp. 153–154).

Compared to the previous verses, Q. al-Nisa' 4:34 does not display as many qira'at variations, yet it still preserves an important semantic nuance in the phrase *bimā ḥafiẓa Allāh*. As noted in the draft, the main point lies not in a major lexical divergence but in a subtle grammatical shift that affects the position of agency within the verse. Habsy records that a particular reading changes the orientation of the phrase so that, in one construction, the meaning points more strongly to Allah's protection and safeguarding of

righteous women, whereas in another grammatical orientation the emphasis moves toward women's own active role in preserving the values and trust entrusted by God (Habsy, 2001, p. 185).

This small variation shows that the verse does not necessarily construct women only as passive objects within domestic ethics, but also opens a semantic possibility in which women appear as active moral agents. In that sense, the shift is not merely grammatical, because it changes the direction of emphasis from divine safeguarding alone to ethical participation and conscious moral responsibility. Even without turning this verse into a larger ideological debate, the textual evidence indicates that qira'at-sensitive reading allows Q. al-Nisa' 4:34 to be understood not only through passive piety, but also through the language of active righteousness and relational responsibility within the household.

In Q. al-Nisa' 4:43, the central semantic variation lies in the reading of *lamastum* and *lāmastum*. As noted in the draft, Ḥamzah, al-Kisā'ī, and Khalaf read the expression without the alif, whereas the other canonical readers recite it with the alif. This difference becomes significant because it affects the semantic range of bodily contact between men and women in the context of ritual purity. Al-Rāzī emphasizes that the basic meaning of *al-lams* is touch by hand, while the form built on the pattern of *mufā'alah* may indicate reciprocal bodily contact rather than automatically meaning sexual intercourse (Rāzī, 1981, p. 115). Al-Qurṭubī likewise shows that both readings generated multiple interpretive possibilities among the exegetes, including intercourse, ordinary skin contact, and meanings that accommodate both depending on context (Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, pp. 223–224).

This variation indicates that Q. al-Nisa' 4:43 preserves a plural semantic horizon regarding male–female bodily relations within ritual discourse. The verse therefore cannot be reduced to a single fixed meaning, whether sexual intercourse alone, ordinary touch alone, or contact involving desire. Instead, qira'at variation broadens the interpretive field of the verse by showing that bodily interaction and ritual purity are articulated through layered semantic possibilities. In this respect, the verse provides strong evidence that qira'at contributes to semantic expansion in the domain of gendered embodiment, because the textual form itself sustains more than one legitimate interpretive direction.

In sum, the qira'at variations identified in the selected gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa' reveal a consistent pattern of semantic expansion rather than isolated lexical deviation. First, qira'at broadens meaning from a single and narrow lexical sense into multiple related semantic possibilities. Second, this broadening often moves from a minimal meaning toward more

complex relational and ethical implications, such as from "justice" to the avoidance of injustice and neglect, from "coercion" to hardship and abusive retention, from passive piety to active moral agency, and from simple touch to a plural field of bodily relations and ritual meaning. Third, within the context of gender verses, such plurality prevents a monolithic reading of the text and instead opens a more contextual and textually grounded interpretive horizon. Therefore, the first finding of this study demonstrates that qira'at variation in selected gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa' is semantically expansive and, for that reason, resists the reduction of these verses into a single interpretive direction.

Qira'at Differences and Legal-Interpretive Consequences

The second finding of this study demonstrates that qira'at differences in selected gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa' do not merely produce semantic expansion, but also generate distinct legal-interpreive consequences in the direction of tafsir and istinbāṭ. Once a variation in reading affects the substance of a word, it also affects how the verse is understood, delimited, and normatively applied, so that the same verse may be read in a stricter or more flexible manner, in a narrower or broader scope, in a more textual or more contextual orientation, and even in a more patriarchal or more reciprocal direction depending on the interpretive reasoning constructed from it. In this regard, al-Zarkasyi's formulation is crucial, since he notes that qira'at differences tied to the substance of words can alter meaning, whereas those tied only to dialectal style do not necessarily do so (Al-Zarkasyī, 2003, p. 258). On that basis, the qira'at variants mapped in the gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa', as preserved in the qira'at tradition, indicate that differences in recitation may also lead to differences in legal and interpretive orientation rather than remaining at the level of linguistic variation alone (Al-Qāḍlī, 1981, pp. 75–89).

To make this second finding more analytically visible, the legal-interpreive consequences of qira'at variations in the selected gender-related verses are summarized in Table 2. This table provides a concise mapping of how different readings affect the scope, direction, and normative orientation of interpretation before each verse is discussed in greater detail.

Tabel 2 — Pemetaan Konsekuensi Tafsir-Hukum dari Variasi Qira'at

Verse	**Variant Reading**	**Immediate Semantic Shift**	**Legal-Interpretive Consequence**	**Main References**
Q. 4:3	tuqsitū / taqsitū	justice / injustice-neglect	polygamy read not merely as fairness after marriage, but also as prior non-oppression and readiness	Al-Qurthuby, 2006, p. 25; `Atiyyah, 2001, p. 70; Al-Andalusī, 2010, p. 504; Widayati, 2015
Q. 4:19	karhan / kurhan; mubayyinah / mubayyanah	coercion / hatred-abuse	prohibition extends from forced inheritance to abusive detention, deprivation, and violence against wives	al-Jazari, 1992, p. 105; Al-Suyūṭī, 2003, pp. 234–235; Al-Ṭabarī, 1994, p. 649; Rofiq, 2003, pp. 153–154
Q. 4:34	grammatical variation	passive safeguarding / active moral agency	household leadership interpreted less as absolute hierarchy and more as relational responsibility	Habsy, 2001, p. 185
Q. 4:43	lamastum / lāmastum	touch / intercourse or mutual touch	different legal rulings on wudu, tayammum, and bodily contact with women	Rāzī, 1981, p. 115; Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, pp. 223–224

In Q. al-Nisa' 4:3, the qira'at variation between *tuqsitū* and *taqsitū* affects not only the semantic range of justice, but also the legal-interpreive threshold through which the verse is normatively understood. Al-Qurṭubī explains that the first reading derives from *aqsatha*, which denotes acting justly, whereas the second derives from *qasatha*, which conveys injustice, cheating, or deviation from fairness; in the latter, the particle *lā* is treated as *zā'idah*, so the construction points to the fear of acting unjustly toward women and orphans (Al-Qurthuby, 2006, p. 25). This distinction is also affirmed by al-Zamakhsharī and Ibn 'Aṭiyyah, who regard the two readings as carrying different semantic implications, although Abū Ḥayyān, citing al-Zajjāj, records the position that both may still converge on the broader sense of justice (`Atiyyah, 2001, p. 70; Al-Andalusī, 2010, p. 504; Al-Zamakhsyarī, 2009).

At the level of legal and interpretive consequence, however, the difference is more significant: if the first reading allows the condition of polygamy to be understood primarily as the capacity to act justly, the second reading tightens that condition by including the avoidance of neglect, harmful treatment, and failure of responsibility even before the marriage is undertaken. In this sense, Widayati's discussion is important because it shows that the alternative reading produces a stricter legal implication for those seeking to practice polygamy, especially by expanding the condition from abstract justice to concrete preparedness and non-oppression (Widayati, 2015). Read in this direction, the verse can no longer be reduced to a permissive formula of "polygamy is allowed as long as one is fair," since qira'at variation raises the legal-interpretive bar and opens a more restrictive ethical reading, a tendency that later gender-sensitive interpretations also reinforce without turning the verse into a purely polemical rejection of polygamy(Al-Bukhārī, 1987, p. 47; Kodir, 2017, pp. 194–196, 2019, p. 423; Yusuf, 2008, p. 133).

In Q. al-Nisa' 4:19, the qira'at variation provides one of the clearest examples of how differences in recitation generate broader legal-interpreive consequences. The key textual points remain the readings of *karhan/kurhan* and *mubayyinah/mubayyanah*, as already mapped in the draft (al-Jazari, 1992, p. 105). Ibn 'Abbās, as cited by al-Suyūṭī, distinguishes *karhan* as coercion or compulsion, whereas *kurhan* points to hatred, burden, and oppressive treatment directed toward women (Al-Suyūṭī, 2003, pp. 234–235). This distinction is reinforced by al-Ṭabarī, who refers to the detention of women until death for the sake of inheritance (Al-Ṭabarī, 1994, p. 649), and by Ibn 'Ādil, who explains that a wife may be neglected, restrained, or left to suffer because of her husband's dislike and material interest (Al-Dimasyqī, 1998, p. 256). The report on pre-Islamic and early Medinan practices of

seizing widows as objects of male control further clarifies that the verse addressed not only symbolic inheritance, but also concrete forms of domination over women's lives and property (Ath-Thabari, 2008, p. 645).

At the level of legal-interpreive consequence, these readings expand the scope of the verse from a narrow prohibition against inheriting women by force into a broader prohibition against structural violence. The verse can therefore be read not only as rejecting forced control over widows, but also as prohibiting abusive retention, deprivation of rights, coercion, humiliation, and other forms of violence motivated by control over women's bodies and property. This wider legal horizon is further supported by the interpretation of *ta'ḍulūhunna*, which exegetes link to harming, restricting, and pressuring wives in order to reclaim property or deny them their rights (Kathīr & Al-Ṣābūnī, 1981, p. 368; Munawwir, 1997, pp. 941–942; Al-Jaṣṣāṣ, 1993, p. 157). In this sense, the qira'at variation in Q. al-Nisa' 4:19 transforms the verse from a literal-social prohibition into a wider textual basis for protecting women from coercive control and structural abuse, with later interpretive and legal reflections only confirming the practical significance of this broader reading (Riḍā, 1947, p. 370; Rofiq, 2003, pp. 153–154).

In Q. al-Nisa' 4:34, the qira'at evidence is more limited than in the previous verses, yet it remains significant for legal-interpreive analysis because even a minor variation in recitation may affect the position of agency within the verse. As preserved in the draft, the relevant point concerns the phrase related to the safeguarding of righteous women, where a slight grammatical variation recorded by Habsy alters the orientation of meaning: one reading emphasizes that righteous women are protected and safeguarded by Allah, while the other allows the phrase to be understood in a way that highlights women's own active role in preserving divine values and ethical trust (Habsy, 2001, p. 185).

At the level of legal and interpretive consequence, this variation means that Q. al-Nisa' 4:34 does not automatically lock its meaning into a model of unilateral male hierarchy within the household. Rather, the shift in grammatical orientation opens the possibility of reading domestic relations not only as a structure of authority, but also as a framework of reciprocal moral responsibility in which ethical agency is not monopolized by the husband alone. In this sense, the qira'at-sensitive reading of the verse subtly repositions debates on *qawwām*, provision, and household leadership, showing that the interpretive consequence of qira'at may lie not only in technical rulings, but also in the normative orientation through which gender relations are understood.

In Q. al-Nisa' 4:43, the qira'at variation provides one of the clearest demonstrations that differences in recitation may lead directly to divergent legal consequences in ritual law. As already shown in the draft, the variation between *lamastum* and *lāmastum* produces different semantic possibilities, including ordinary physical touch, reciprocal bodily contact, kissing, and sexual intercourse. Al-Rāzī is particularly important here because he explains that the basic meaning of *al-lams* is touch by hand, while the form built on the pattern of *mufā'alah* may indicate reciprocal contact rather than automatically referring to *jimā'* (Rāzī, 1981, p. 115). Al-Qurṭubī further shows that these two readings generated multiple juridical interpretations among exegetes and jurists, especially regarding whether contact with women should be understood as intercourse alone or also as ordinary touch in the context of ritual purity (Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, pp. 223–224).

At the level of legal-interpreive consequence, this variation means that the verse does not yield a single ritual ruling. Rather, qira'at differences produce different legal positions concerning whether contact with women invalidates wudu, whether the verse refers only to sexual intercourse, or whether ordinary bodily touch may also be included, and how tayammum is consequently situated in cases of impurity. In this respect, Q. al-Nisa' 4:43 shows in a concrete way that qira'at variation is not merely a linguistic detail, but a textual factor with real normative implications in tafsir and fiqh, especially in matters related to the female body and ritual practice.

the verses analyzed in this section show that qira'at variation functions as a basis for plural legal-interpreive possibilities rather than as a mere linguistic supplement to the text. First, qira'at may tighten legal conditions, as seen in Q. al-Nisa' 4:3, where the discourse on polygamy moves beyond an abstract claim of justice toward a more demanding requirement of ethical responsibility and non-oppression. Second, qira'at may broaden the scope of prohibition, as shown in Q. al-Nisa' 4:19, where the verse no longer addresses only forced inheritance, but also extends to abusive retention, deprivation, hatred, and other forms of violence against women. Third, qira'at may generate divergent normative rulings, as in Q. al-Nisa' 4:43, where different readings shape different ritual-legal positions concerning bodily contact, wudu, and tayammum, while even the more limited variation in Q. al-Nisa' 4:34 demonstrates that qira'at can reorient the normative understanding of household leadership and moral agency. For this reason, qira'at differences do not simply diversify readings; they shape the legal and interpretive horizons through which gender verses are understood. In other words, the plurality of qira'at also means the plurality of legal-interpreive possibilities, and this constitutes the central finding of this second sub-section.

Re-reading Gender Verses Beyond Monolithic Hafs-Based Interpretation

The findings presented in the previous sections suggest that qira'at variation in selected gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa' operates on two interconnected levels. First, as shown in the analysis of Q. al-Nisa' 4:3, 4:19, 4:34, and 4:43, different recitations generate semantic expansion by moving the verses beyond a single and fixed lexical meaning toward broader relational and ethical possibilities. Second, this semantic expansion is not merely linguistic, since it also produces legal-interpreive consequences that affect how the verses are normatively understood, whether by tightening legal conditions, broadening the scope of prohibition, or generating different juridical outcomes. Taken together, these findings make a strictly singular reading of gender verses increasingly problematic, because they show that the broader qira'at tradition preserves multiple interpretive horizons that cannot be adequately captured through one dominant recitational framework alone.

The dominance of Ḥafṣ ʿan ʿĀṣim in contemporary Muslim recitational practice is a historical and institutional fact, but it should not be mistaken for the exhaustion of the Qur'an's interpretive possibilities. Recent studies note that Ḥafṣ and Warsh remain the two most visible recitational traditions in contemporary Muslim societies, yet Ḥafṣ has achieved far wider circulation across the Muslim world. This predominance has been reinforced not only by recitational preference, but also by twentieth-century print standardization, especially the broad influence of the 1924 Cairo Qur'an and later institutional publication regimes, as well as by educational systems that normalized Ḥafṣ as the default pedagogical form of recitation (Mohd A'Tarahim et al., 2017). In this sense, the present predominance of Ḥafṣ is not merely a neutral textual fact, but also the product of historical processes of standardization, dissemination, and curricular selection.

For that reason, the hermeneutic issue is not that Ḥafṣ-based interpretation is invalid, since Ḥafṣ remains one of the canonical and fully legitimate qirāʾāt, but that its practical dominance can encourage the monopolization of the interpretive horizon. Recent scholarship has shown that the widespread use of Ḥafṣ is closely tied to curricular alignment, print regimes, institutional transmission networks, and even modern technological standardization, while other recitations such as Warsh and Qālūn often persist as regional, specialized, or advanced forms of study rather than mainstream interpretive horizons (Kharisma & Muhammad Fathur Rozaq, 2026; Zakiyana Afazani Al Maula, Iffah Muzammil, & Muhammad Habibulloh, 2025). Once this distinction is recognized, it becomes possible to argue more

carefully that a monolithic Ḥafṣ-centered reading of gender verses risks flattening semantic and legal-interpreive possibilities already preserved within the wider qirāʾāt tradition.

The four verses analyzed in this study show that the problem of monolithic interpretation is not merely theoretical, but becomes visible in concrete textual cases. In Q. al-Nisa' 4:3, qira'at variation shifts the discourse on polygamy from a relatively abstract requirement of justice toward a more restrictive ethical demand that includes the avoidance of neglect and harm. In Q. al-Nisa' 4:19, the prohibition expands from forced inheritance alone into a broader protection against coercion, abusive retention, deprivation, and violence against women. In Q. al-Nisa' 4:34, the verse no longer appears closed within an absolute model of domestic hierarchy, since the textual nuance allows a reading that gives greater weight to reciprocal moral responsibility and female ethical agency. In Q. al-Nisa' 4:43, bodily contact and ritual purity are likewise shown to be non-singular, as qira'at variation opens divergent legal and interpretive possibilities concerning touch, intercourse, wudu, and tayammum. In this light, the preceding analysis suggests that a monolithic Hafs-based reading tends to flatten precisely those semantic and legal-interpreive possibilities that become visible when the broader qira'at tradition is taken seriously. This makes the critique of monolithic reading empirically grounded in the very verses examined in this study.

This study does not emerge in a scholarly vacuum. Prior research has already argued that qirāʾāt theory is important for reading gender-related verses more adequately. Ahmad Muttaqin, for example, explicitly argues that variant readings help interpreters approach gender verses thematically and contextually, and he uses Q. al-Nisāʾ 4:19 to show that qirāʾāt can reposition women more respectfully within the interpretive frame (Muttaqin, 2016). In parallel, other recent studies have emphasized that qirāʾāt differences are not merely phonetic or technical matters, but can affect tafsīr, legal interpretation, and the practical application of Islamic teachings (Ghozi Febra, Admizal, & Suriyadi, 2024). Studies on Ḥafṣ and Warsh, as well as more recent work on legal verses, show that recitational differences can shape fiqh debates and alter how legal or doctrinal implications are derived from the Qur'anic text (Mohd A'Tarahim et al., 2017). In that sense, the present article confirms an existing line of scholarship, but extends it by concentrating specifically on gender-related verses in Sūrat al-Nisāʾ and by showing how semantic expansion and legal-interpretive consequences work together in a single analytical framework.

At the same time, the findings of this article also speak to the broader literature on gendered Qur'anic interpretation. Karen Bauer's work has shown that many Qur'anic verses on marriage, testimony, and human creation were historically interpreted within increasingly elaborate male-dominated legal and exegetical hierarchies, even though those hierarchies were shaped by changing social and intellectual contexts rather than by a single immutable interpretive logic (Bauer, 2015). Read against that background, the present study offers a more specific internal corrective: instead of challenging hierarchical readings only through modern ethical critique, it shows that the wider qirāʾāt tradition itself already preserves semantic and legal possibilities that can unsettle monolithic readings of gender verses. The novelty of this article, therefore, lies not in rejecting the tafsīr tradition from outside, but in reopening gender interpretation from within the textual plurality already authorized in the qirāʾāt tradition.

These findings imply that the central problem lies not in the Qur'anic text itself, but in the narrowing of the interpretive horizon through which gender-related verses are read. In light of this, studies of gender in Qur'anic exegesis should treat qira'at plurality not as a peripheral technical issue, but as a methodological resource for reopening semantic, legal, and ethical possibilities already preserved within the Islamic textual tradition. This point is consistent with prior scholarship showing that qira'at theory is important for reading gender-related verses more contextually (Muttaqin, 2016), that qira'at variants affect meaning production and exegesis (Ummah et al., 2024), and that recitational differences can shape the interpretation and application of Qur'anic verses more broadly (Ghozi Febra et al., 2024). At the same time, the history of gender interpretation in the Qur'an has often developed within male-dominated hierarchical frameworks, so the present study may be positioned as an internal corrective grounded in the qira'at tradition itself rather than merely in modern ethical critique (Bauer, 2015). A non-monolithic reading of gender verses is therefore more dialogical, more contextual, and more faithful to the internal plurality of the Islamic interpretive tradition, precisely because it works from possibilities already authorized within qira'at itself.

Conclusion

This study concludes that qira'at variation in selected gender-related verses of Surat al-Nisa' is not merely a matter of phonetic diversity, but a textual factor that significantly shapes semantic, legal, and interpretive possibilities. The analysis of Q. al-Nisa' 4:3, 4:19, 4:34, and 4:43 demonstrates ~~that variant readings expand the meaning of the verses beyond a single lexical~~

horizon and, at the same time, generate different legal-interpreive consequences in tafsir and istinbāṭ. In Q. al-Nisa' 4:3, qira'at variation makes the discourse on polygamy more restrictive by moving beyond abstract justice toward a stronger demand for non-oppression and ethical responsibility. In Q. al-Nisa' 4:19, the prohibition expands from forced inheritance to a broader protection against coercion, abusive retention, deprivation, and violence against women. In Q. al-Nisa' 4:34, even a subtle grammatical variation opens the possibility of reading household relations not only in hierarchical terms, but also in terms of reciprocal moral responsibility. In Q. al-Nisa' 4:43, qira'at differences produce divergent ritual-legal implications concerning bodily contact, wudu, and tayammum. Taken together, these findings show that the plurality of qira'at also entails the plurality of semantic and legal-interpreive horizons.

The main scholarly contribution of this article lies in showing that the re-reading of gender verses does not have to rely solely on external ethical critique, because the qira'at tradition itself already preserves internal textual plurality that can challenge monolithic interpretations. In this sense, the problem does not lie in the Qur'anic text, but in the narrowing of the interpretive horizon through a dominant single-reading framework, particularly when Hafs-based recitation is treated as if it exhausts the meaning of the text. This study therefore argues that gender-sensitive Qur'anic interpretation should treat qira'at plurality as a methodological resource rather than a peripheral technical issue. At the same time, this article is limited to selected verses in Surat al-Nisa' and to a textual-exegetical analysis of their semantic and legal implications. Further research may expand this inquiry by examining gender-related verses in other surahs, comparing a wider range of canonical qira'at, and exploring how qira'at plurality is negotiated in contemporary tafsir, legal discourse, and lived Muslim interpretive practice

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Princess Urduja From Tawalisi: Arabic Mirabilia And Philippine History

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The famous Maghribi traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa al-Ṭanjī (1304-c.1369) in his *Tuḥfa al-nuẓẓār fī garā'ib al-amṣār wa-l-'ajā'ib al-asfār*, better known as the *Riḥla* (Travel), describes a strange land beyond China that captivated for long time the imagination:

> We arrived at the country of Ṭawālisī, named after its king. It is a huge nation whose lord is comparable to the Chinese king. […] His daughter Urdujā was appointed as regent. […] There were women around her holding records. Others, the elders, were her advisers and remained seated on the throne, seats of sandalwood. Ahead were men. […] This princess had women among their troops, free, servants and prisoners who fight like men. She goes to the head of the army —both men and women— raids against the enemy, looks at the battles and fights with the champions. […] A lot of princes ask her in marriage, and she responds: «I will marry but just the one that defeats me». Thus, many pretenders abandon confronting her for fear of the shame in case of being defeated.[1]

[1] Our translation from the original:
إلى البلاد طَوالسي ,وملكها هو المسمّي بطَوالسي ,وهي بلاد عريضة […] وملكها يضاهي ملك الصين […] وولّى بنته بتلك المدينة واسمها أرْدُجا٠ وحولها النساء القواعد ,وهنّ وزيراتها, وقد جَلَسنَ تحت السرير على كراسي الصندل, وبين يديها الرجالُ ومجلسها مفروش بالحرير […]هذه الملكة لها في عسكرها نسوة وخدم وجوار يقاتلن كالرجال ,وأنتها تخرجُ في العساكر من رجال ونساء ,فتغيرعلى عدوّها وتشاهد القتال وتبارز الأبطال ,وأخبرَني أنّها وقع بينها وبين بعض أعدائها قتالٌ شديد ,وقتلَ كثيرٌ من عسكرها […]فلمّا عادت إلى أبيها ملّكها تلك المدينة التي كانت بيد أخيها. وأخبرني أن أبناء الملوك يخطبونها فتقول, لا أتزَوّج إلاّ من يبارزني فيغلبني, فيتحامون مبارزتها خوفَ المعرّة إن غلبتهم.
For a full Arabic text and English translation of this tale see I. Donoso, *Islamic Far East: Ethnogenesis of Philippine Islam*, Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 2013, pp. 252-256. Modern Arabic version in *Riḥla*, Beirut, Dār Bayrūt li-l-ṭabā'a wa-l-nashr, 1985, p. 564. Translations to main Western languages: Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304-c.1369): *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah, texte arabe, accompagné d'une traduction par C. Défrémery et le D. B. R. Sanguinetti*, Paris, Société Asiatique & Imprimerie Nationale, 1853-1859, 5 vols.; *The Travels of Baṭṭūṭa A. D. 1325-1354*, English translation by H. A. R. Gibb,

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No other classical author mentioned this account but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Only in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla* «Ṭawālisī» is mentioned, together with the marvellous story of its female ruler, the warrior princess Urdujā. Consequently, speculations and suggestions about the location of this Asian kingdom emerged during many decades:

> This country [Ṭawālisī] has been very variously, but not satisfactorily, identified. Candidates include Cambodia, Cochin, China, Champa, Tongking, Celebes (Sulawesi), Tawal island in the Moluccas, Brunei and Sulu. Yule, who suggested the last, admitted to 'a faint suspicion that Tawalisi is really to be looked for in that part of the atlas which contains the Marine Surveys of the late Captain Gulliver'. Professor Yamamoto would connect the name with the princely title *taval* in use in Champa.[2]

The Philippine archipelago was absent in Arabic sources, and accordingly Tawalisi could fill the gap. Indeed, it was Sir Henry Yule who, after despairing about its location and criticizing the sense of the story, [3] suggested that probably, and after a more convincing location, the place was around the Sulu archipelago:

> Tawálisi is really to be looked for in that part of the atlas which contains the Marine Surveys of the late Captain Gulliver. Putting aside this suspicion, no suggestion seems on the whole more probable than that Tawálisi was the kingdom of Soolo or Súlúk, N.E. of Borneo.[4]

The door had been opened to speculation, and in a letter to Dr. A. B. Meyer signed in London on January 7, 1889, José Rizal inaugurated Filipino interest in Tawalisi. As a matter of fact, the most important statement about the location of this rare place came when José Rizal (1861-1896), the most

London, The Hakluyk Society, 1958-1971, vols. I-III; English translation by H. A. R. Gibb & C. F. Beckingham, vol. IV; *A través del Islam*, Spanish translation by Serafín Fanjul & Federico Arbós, Madrid, Alianza, 1997.

[2] H. A. R. Gibb & C. F. Beckingham, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,* vol. IV, 884. See T. Yamamoto, "On Tawalisi as described by Ibn Battuta," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko,* 1936, vol. VIII, pp. 93-133.

[3] Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither. Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China translated and Edited by Colonel Sir Henry Yule with a Preliminary Essay on the Intercourse Between China and the Western Nations Previous to the Discovery of the Cape Route*, London, The Hakluyt Society, 1914 (1866), vol. 4, p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 158.

eminent Filipino thinker and national hero,[5] located (after a very complex explanation) Tawalisi over the map of the Philippine province of Pangasinan, in Northwestern Luzon:

> Drawing two arcs, one from Canton with a radius of 180 miles or geographical leagues, assuming a favorable wind and 12 miles a day; and another from Kakula (between Java and Sumatra) of 430 radius, assuming an average speed by paddling, we have the intersection of both arcs falling precisely in the northern region of the Philippines.[6]

This identification caused a major shift in Philippine history, since it assumed the factual presence of the archipelago in a major historical book. Accordingly, an indigenous prosperous Philippine kingdom named Tawalisi was ruled by the Princess Urduja long before the entrance of the Spaniards in the region. Seeking to build an affluent Philippine pre-Hispanic history, Urduja came to be a symbol of modernity, independence and prosperity, a scenario eroded by the Spanish conquest.

[5] Biographies on Rizal are numerous: Wenceslao Emilio Retana, *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal*, Madrid, Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1907; Austin Craig, *Lineage, Life and Labors of José Rizal, Philippine Patriot. A Study of the Growth of Free Ideas in the Trans-Pacific American Territory*, Manila, Philippine Education Company, 1913; Carlos P. Quirino, *The Great Malayan. The Biography of Rizal*, Manila, Philippine Education Company, 1940; Rafael Palma, *Biografía de Rizal,* Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1949 (English translation: *The Pride of the Malay Race. A Biography of José Rizal*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1949); Sixto Y. Orosa, *José Rizal: el héroe nacional filipino*, Manila, Nueva Era, 1956; León María Guerrero, *The First Filipino: A Biography of José Rizal,* Manila, Instituto Histórico Nacional, 1963; Austin Coates, *Rizal. Philippine Nationalist and Martyr*, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1968 (Spanish translation: *Rizal, nacionalista y mártir filipino*, Madrid, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 2006); José Barón Fernández, *José Rizal: médico y patriota filipino*, Madrid, Manuel L. Morató, 1980 (English translation *José Rizal, Filipino Doctor and Patriot*, Manila, San Juan Press, 1981); Antonio M. Molina, *Yo, José Rizal*, Madrid, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1998; and Asunción López Bantug, *Lolo José: An Intimate and Illustrated Portrait of José Rizal*, Quezon City, Vibal Foundation, 2008.

[6] Our translation from: "Trazando dos arcos, uno desde Cantón con un radio de 180 millas o leguas geográficas suponiendo que con un viento favorable recorriese 12 leguas diarias; y otro desde Kakula (entre Java y Sumatra) de 430 de radio, calculando que remando sólo consiguiesen una velocidad media, tendremos que la intersección de ambos arcos cae precisamente en la región norte de Filipinas," in José Rizal, "Acerca del Tawalisi de Ybn Batuta," *Escritos políticos e históricos,* Manila, Comisión Nacional del Centenario de José Rizal, 1961, p. 50. See also *José P. Apóstol, "*Rizal on Tawalisi," *The Journal of History,* 1958, vol. 6, nums. 2-3, pp. 120-130.

Fig. 10: Fernando Amorsolo, *Princesa Urduja* (1959);
Yuchengco Museum, Manila

As a matter of fact, paintings with the face of an imagined Urduja appeared anywhere, city halls were renamed, and monuments under the glory of this modern princess immortalized by the Moroccan historian were erected, plus movies, statues, political murals and all kind of memorabilia. No questions were raised about who Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was, and about the real scope of Arabic and Islamic sources for ancient Philippines. The goal was to proclaim a splendorous and Edenic past before colonization and Western intervention. Interestingly, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa came from the Islamic West, and this Western Islamic connection was perceived as more natural than the Western Christian evangelization of the early modern era.

Jaime C. de Vera limited the ongoing hoax by searching directly the contents of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's tale. He published in 1951 a thorough study analysing the contents of the Arabic text —in its English translation—, and the difficulties to locate the court of Urduja in the context of 14th century Philippines.[7]

Previously de Veyra and Otley Beyer had published *Philippine Saga. A Pictorial History of the Archipelago since time began* (1947). The prestige of Beyer in the Philippines was immense in that time, even more after he

[7] *¿Quién fue Urduja? Urduja: un ser mitológico. Estudio histórico,* Manila, Nueva Era, 1951.

established the "Wave Migration Theory." Namely, he traced the early Philippine history to the existence of an Arab maritime route:

> From the late tenth century onward the Arab ships pursued both routes and the first actual recorded mention of the Philippines, in Chinese written history, is the arrival of an Arab ship at Canton with a load of native goods from Mindoro (Ma-i), in the year 982 A.D.[8]

With the activism of Malays in the Muslim global network and the introduction of the sultanate, the eastern maritime world was being incorporated within the arena. Therefore, the commercial intercourses with eastern Southeast Asia were part of the regional Malay commerce. This does not mean that eventually, when Malays were Islamized, other Muslims (Arabs, Indians, Persians, Chinese, Turks and so on) could sporadically intervene as private entrepreneurs. Other matter is to consider the factual existence of a regular Arabic route to the Philippine islands:

> Five years later [977] a merchant from China with the family name of P'u, which was often used in Canton for the Arabic name Abu, led a tribute mission to the Chinese capital from the ruler of Brunei, who told the court that Ma-i [Mindoro] and Champa were both 30-day voyages from Borneo. And in 982, some Ma-i traders are reported to have brought valuable merchandise to the Kwantung coast […] Beyer opened an imaginative new chapter in the history of Philippines trade contacts by referring to an «Arab ship… with a load of native goods from Mindoro».[9]

It seems that the so-called route across Borneo and the Philippines towards China was not an Arab business. More likely both, Chinese and people from the Philippine archipelago, exploited this area in local activities.[10] Those Chinese trading towards southern lands were somehow

[8] Wu Ching-hong, "A Study of References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources from Earliest Times to the Ming Dynasty," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, 1959, vol. XXIV, num. 1-2, pp. 76. According to Wu Ching-hong, the translation of Ma Tuan-lin's *Wen Shiann Tung Kao* fragment is as follows: "There were traders of the country of Mo-yi carrying valuables merchandise to the coast of Canton (for sale) in the seventh year of Tai-ping-shing-kuo (of Sung Dynasty, that is 982 A.D.)," in p. 75.

[9] William Henry Scott, *Prehispanic Sources Materials for the Study of the Philippine History,* Quezon City, New Day, 1984, pp. 65 and 147.

[10] *Cf.* Robert Fox, "The Archeological Record of Chinese influence in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies*, 1967, vol. 15, num. 1, pp. 41-62.

under Islamic influence, or Muslims themselves (i.e. Hui), and eventually a Muslim (Arab, Persian, Indian, Malay, Andalusian, etc.) could be part of the crew on-board. Arabs regularly reached Chinese ports across the Malay Strait-route until Malays themselves were actively engaged in the commerce and Chinese ports were closed.[11] In contrast with the long-distance trade, the regional activity was undertaken by indigenous nations (Chinese and Malays), eventually joining and finally leading the Muslim monopoly. In sum, it is not possible to speak about a regular Arab maritime route from Borneo to Canton through Mindoro:

> These references [Arab sources] are hearsay evidence or tales about lands at the end of the world, not descriptions of Arab trade routes. Their negative testimony is especially disappointing in view of H. Otley Beyer's oft-quoted statement that Arabs opened a new trade route via Borneo, the Philippines and Japan to Korea in the eight century […] By the time of the Spanish advent, Filipino merchants and mercenaries were spread all over Southeast Asia […] If one wishes to speculate about the advent of Arabs and Arab influences in the prehispanic Philippines, therefore, a ready explanation is available—namely, that they were in vessels built, owned and manned by islanders born within that triangle [Manila-Timor-Malacca], […] It is perhaps surprising that nobody has yet looked for Sindbad-the-Sailor's lands of cannibals, peppers, coconuts, and pearl-fisheries in the Philippines.[12]

However, by misunderstanding the sources, Beyer condemned early Islamic history of the Philippines to *Sindbad the Sailor*'s narrative and Arab fanciful routes. To complicate things further, Princess Urduja ruled Pangasinan according to José Rizal, and Arabic *'ajā'ib* literature sanctioned the ancestral history of the archipelago, before the entrance of the Westerners.

Interestingly, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was a westerner himself, a Maghribi, and habitant of the Islamic West that supposedly travelled to the Islamic Far East. Moreover, he did not write down his *Riḥla*, but the Andalusian Ibn Juzayy al-Garnāṭī (1321-1357), who annotated, edited and reframed the narrative according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's dictation. He was the son of Abū-l-Qāsim

[11] John W. Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750–1400*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018, p. 49.

[12] Scott, *Prehispanic Sources*, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-83.

Muḥammad ibn Juzayy (1294-1340), one of the greatest intellectuals of the Sultanate of Granada, ulama and martyr in the Battle of Río Salado:[13]

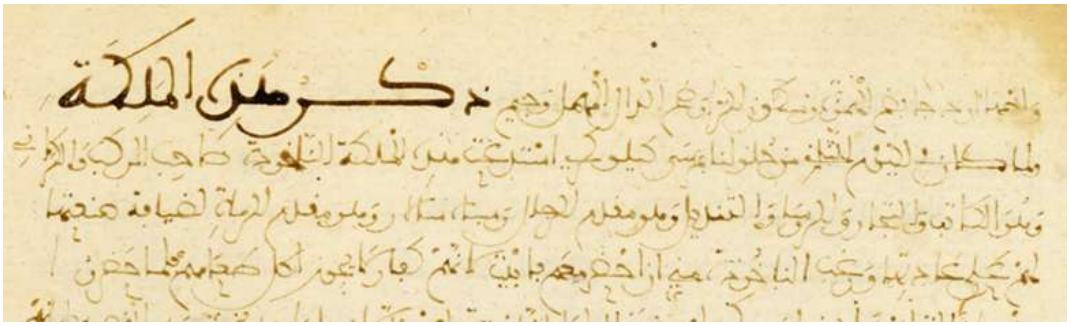

Fig. 11: Handwritten manuscript by Ibn Juzayy al-Garnāṭī of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla*.
Section were the name Urdujā appears, second word on the right, first line[14]

When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa narrated his adventures around the world to the Granadian Ibn Juzayy, the expertise of the latter made it possible to compose a literary attractive work, within the conventions of the art. *Tuḥfa al-nuẓẓār fī garā'ib al-amṣār wa-l-'ajā'ib al-asfār* was a finished artistic product, as the title in rhymed prose or *saj'* / سجع testifies. It was made based on the testimony of the journey, but not only that. Much of the journey took place many years before the final writing; names, places and news had been forgotten, and the remembrance of what took place was intended to delight, in a work that would bear witness to the wonder. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sought to testify his successful career, if not as Maliki ulama in India (with a disastrous ending according to his narration), at least as businessman and pious pilgrim in the abode of Islam, to the end of the world.

Arrived in Calicut, he discovered the magnificence trade with the Far East, and received the opportunity to embark to China as ambassador of the Sultan of Delhi. However, an accident spoiled the whole convoy, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa withdrew to the Maldives fearful of reprisals. From this point on, the

[13] *Cf.* F. N. Vázquez Basanta, "Abu l-Qasim Ibn Yuzayy: fuentes árabes," *Al-Andalus-Magreb: Estudios árabes e islámicos*, 1998, num. 6, pp. 251-288. See also idem, "Ibn Yuzayy al-Kalbī, Abū 'Abd Allāh," in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, Almería, Fundación Ibn Tufayl, 2012, vol. 6, [1416], pp. 203-214.

[14] «Seconde partie des Voyages d'Ibn Baṭouṭâh», Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2291, 83r [173 pdf]: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc302100/>

story becomes extremely fast, because in a few paragraphs the whole of Southeast Asia is described, reaching as far as Peking, and then returning; this is to say, several thousand kilometers told in a few pages. The strangest thing of all is the content of the stories, since what he tells could have been perfectly well known through some informant in the ports of the Indian Ocean, during his long stay in India and the Maldives.

Leaving aside the data which can be contrasted and verified in other sources, there is one name that only Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions, he alone, being moreover the most exorbitant of the whole *Riḥla*: the country of Tawalisi:

> The land of Ṭawālisī is such a problematical place that practically all Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's commentators have placed it in different places. The whole account of the country points to something extracted from the land of the Turks and this is what some editors have suggested. Others have attempted to find a name in South-East Asia resembling Ṭawālisī and have produced Tawal in the Moluccas. Yule suggested the Sulu Islands. It is most likely that this place was somewhere in Indo-China. So far no Arabs have mentioned a route further east, although Ibn Mājid vaguely indicates a route through the Moluccas.[15]

Nowhere else is it possible to find a similar name, with the features described in the account. It sounds more like a literary license to catch the attention of the audience, to fill the gap of the long trip to China, to complete with marvels the voyages, following the imperatives of the genre. In fact, the third part of the *kitāb*'s title is *'ajā'ib al-asfār* (marvels of travelling), exposing that the *Riḥla* is, also, a book of *'ajā'ib*.

Therefore, there are only two possibilities to trace the sense of the famous kingdom of Tawalisi. Firstly, it could be a literary creation done in connection with the Andalusian Ibn Juzayy, literatus and well trained in classical forms,[16] to reshape an Amazon kingdom with vivid details. Or secondly, it could be a bombastic recreation of a feasible landing in some entrepôt in the route to China, perhaps that place known as «Tanaçari» in the *Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, where many Muslims traded:

[15] Tibbetts, *op. cit.,* 1979, p. 98.

[16] "It is perfectly plain that Ibn Juzayy copied outright numerous long passages from the *Rihla* of Ibn Jubayr, the twelfth-century Andalusian traveller who wrote the most elegant of the medieval Muslim travel books," in Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveler of the Fourteenth Century,* Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1986, pp. 313-314.

> Logo saindo do reino de Pegú, está uma grande cidade de porto de mar que, chamam Tanaçari, onde há muitos mercadores mouros e gentios, que tratam toda sorte de mercadorias; e assim tem muitas naus que navegam para Bengala, Malaca e outras muitas partes.[17]

Tenasserim, a melting pot Burmese entrepôt on the northern Malay Peninsula, was a place to stop in the way to Malaccan strait. Undoubtedly Muslim traders reached it. The rendering of the name seems movable in this Babelian city and, between the many adaptations and pronunciations, the form Ṭa-wā-li-sī / طَوالسي does not lies far:

> The name of this town has undergone various renderings in European literature, depending on the nationalities of the travellers, the sources of their information and on other circumstances. The present Siamese name of Tenasserim is *Tănaosí*, the Malay form is *Tānahshí* or *Tānasarí*, while the Burmese has been rendered as *Tenanthari, Tannethaiee, Ta-nen-thā-ri,* and *Tanang-sărí* The Chinese name appears to be *Ta-na-ssu-li-sen*.[18]

Be it a literary construction forged by Ibn Juzayy of Granada, be it a bombastic entrepôt reached by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa of Tanger, Princess Urduja of the kingdom of Tawalisi ended as historical ruler of Pangasinan in pre-Hispanic Philippines. Nowadays the Philippine hoax seems to be deciphered, and in the academe, nobody considers Urduja as an historical character. Nevertheless, the intensity of the attachment of Filipinos to their famous precolonial princess makes difficult to remove her name from the imagination and self-representation. This was precisely the goal of *'ajā'ib*, beyond the myth and folklore, it operated within a broader epistemological structure, shaping a new logos of communal identity. Local memories emerged on hagiographies, legends and marvels, that connected the mythological origin with the sacred and universal narrative. *'Ajā'ib* was a *silsila* chaining the geo-historical imagination with the sacred legitimacy, operating beyond criteria of truthfulness or untruthfulness.

[17] *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, introdução e notas de Neves Águas, Lisbon, Publicações Europa- América, 1993, p. 163.

[18] John Anderson, *English intercourse with Siam in the seventeenth century*, London, K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, & co., 1890, pp. 11-12. He annotated coming from the Malay «Tanah Sri» (Prosperous Land), the name given also to Ceylan by the Indians and recorded by Duarte Barbosa as Tenarisim. See *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, *op. cit.,* p. 145.

What is interesting in this case is that an Andalusian-Moroccan medieval text substantiated the ancient history of a Southeast Asian Christian state as the Philippines, not because its historical validity, but due to its *'ajā'ib* ethos. Imagination is part of history, also through that cultural and political construction —or agenda— which connects the logos with the myth. Thus understood, Urduja is still a national hero (or *bayani*) of the Philippines:

> But, if the historical personality of Urduja seemed implausible, almost incredible, what would happen taking it as a type of legend? Thus it would be a sea without shores, without offense to the truth. Imagination has wings, to which nobody dares to cut them off. In this sense, even the Rizal hypothesis would gain more vitality [...] Be Urduja the target of our ambitions![19]

[19] Our translation from: "Pero, si la personalidad *histórica* de Urduja pareciese inverosímil, casi increíble, ¿qué ocurriría tomándola como tipo de leyenda? Aquí se hallaría como en mar sin orillas; no habría ofensa a la verdad; la imaginación posee alas, a las que nadie sería osado cercenarlas. En tal sentido, hasta la hipótesis de Rizal cobraría mayor vitalidad [...] ¡Sea Urduja el blanco de nuestras ambiciones!, in de Veyra, *¿Quién fue Urduja?, op. cit.,* pp. 14-15. We can find an interesting twelve pages document written by Nicolás Zafra in Spanish language, "La tierra de Tawalisi," in «J. C. de Veyra Collection» at Assumption College, San Lorenzo, Makati.

PEDOMAN PENULISAN NASKAH
TASHWIRUL AFKAR

A. PERSYARATAN UMUM PENULISAN NASKAH

1. Naskah belum pernah dipublikasikan atau tidak sedang dalam proses pengajuan untuk publikasi ke media lain dan tidak mengandung unsur plagiat dengan dilampiri pernyataan tertulis dari penulis.
2. Naskah ditulis dalam bahasa Indonesia atau bahasa Inggris dengan kerapatan baris 1 spasi, *font Cambria* 12, ukuran kertas B5, *margin* atas 2.2 cm., bawah 2.2 cm., kiri 2.2 cm., dan kanan 2.2 cm.
3. Panjang naskah minimal 4000 kata (sekitar 15 halaman) sudah termasuk gambar, grafik/ tabel (jika ada) dan daftar pustaka yang menyertainya.
4. Naskah harus disertai dengan abstrak dalam bahasa Inggris dan bahasa Indonesia.
5. Naskah dikirim melalui online submission Tashwirul Afkar dengan alamat https://tashwirulafkar.net/index.php/afkar/about/submissions (klik daftar/register).
6. Semua naskah yang masuk ke redaksi akan melalui proses *blind review* oleh mitra bebestari setelah review oleh redaksi. Naskah yang dimuat akan disunting kembali oleh redaksi tanpa mengubah substansi isi.

B. STRUKTUR NASKAH ILMIAH

1. Judul

a. Judul hendaknya ringkas, efektif dan informatif, dengan jumlah 14 kata¸termasuk kata penghubung.
b. Jenis huruf *Cambria 14,* ditebalkan, dengan jarak baris 1 spasi.

2. Identitas Penulis

a. Artikel disertai dengan identitas penulis yang meliputi: Nama penulis tanpa gelar akademik (*Cambria 12,* ditebalkan), afiliasi kelembagaan penulis, alamat lembaga, dan *e-mail (Cambria 10, spasi 1).*
b. Nama penulis dan urutan penulis (bila lebih dari satu penulis) harus sudah disepakati semua penulis, biasanya berdasarkan besarnya kontribusi dan partisipasi dalam pelaksanaan penelitian dan penulisan laporan, dan semua penulis bertanggung jawab atas isi artikel.

3. Abstrak

a. Abstrak ditulis secara ringkas dan faktual, meliputi tujuan penelitian, metode penelitian, hasil dan simpulan.

b. Abstrak ditulis dalam bahasa Inggris dan bahasa Indonesia, panjang abstrak berkisar antara 150 - 250 kata dalam satu paragraf, huruf *(Cambria 10, spasi 1).*

4. Kata Kunci

a. Kata kunci terdiri atas 3 – 5 kata dan/atau kelompok kata.
b. Kata-kata diketik miring (*italic*), antara kata kunci dipisahkan oleh titik koma (;)

5. Pendahuluan

a. **Pendahuluan** jarak 1 spasi dan ditebalkan.
b. Pendahuluan hendaknya mengandung latar belakang masalah; hipotesis (bila ada), tujuan dan metode penelitian; umumnya artikel tidak terlalu ekstensif; pendahuluan mengacu pada beberapa pustaka yang menjadi landasan teori atau alasan penelitian.

6. Hasil dan Pembahasan

a. **Hasil dan Pembahasan**, jarak 1 spasi dan ditebalkan.
b. Sajian dalam hasil dan pembahasan ditulis secara bersistem, hanya hasil data/informasi yang terkait dengan tujuan penelitian; sederhanakan tabel dan menggunakan tabel terbuka, dan gambar peta lebih difokuskan pada objek yang diteliti serta jangan terlalu besar ukuran filenya serta rumit (diupayakan dalam format JPG); tabel dan gambar diberi nomor urut. Contoh penulisan tabel: Tabel 3.
c. Penggunaan subjudul dalam pembahasan sesuai dengan keperluan pembahasan.
d. Teknik pengutipan sumber rujukan menggunakan catatan kaki/*footnote*, menggunakan sistem sitasi *Chicago Manual of Style 17th edition, Cambria 10*, selengkapnya lihat contoh di ketentuan teknis penulisan catatan kaki.

7. Simpulan

a. **Simpulan**, jarak 1 spasi dan ditebalkan.
b. Simpulan hendaknya merupakan jawaban atas pertanyaan penelitian, dan diungkapkan bukan dalam kalimat stastistik.

8. Ucapan Terima Kasih

a. Bila ada **Ucapan Terimakasih**, jarak 1 spasi dan ditebalkan
b. Berisi ucapan terimakasih kepada lembaga pemberi dana, dan atau individu yang telah membantu dalam pelaksanaan penelitian dan penulisan artikel.

9. Daftar Pustaka

a. **Daftar Pustaka**, jarak 1 spasi dan ditebalkan
b. Literatur yang dicantumkan dalam daftar pustaka hanya memuat sumber-sumber yang dirujuk atau dikutip dalam artikel.

c. Sumber rujukan yang dirujuk dalam artikel, hendaknya merujuk dari salah satu atau beberapa artikel jurnal ilmiah.
d. Teknik penulisan daftar pustaka, menggunakan sistem sitasi *Chicago Manual of Style 17th edition font Cambria 12*. Selengkapnya bisa dilihat pada ketentuan teknis penulisan daftar pustaka.

C. KETENTUAN TEKNIS PENULISAN NASKAH

1. Penulisan Pengutipan

a. Pengutipan rujukan dalam pembahasan hendaknya tidak terlalu panjang.
b. Kutipan langsung kurang dari lima baris ditulis di antara tanda kutip lengkap bersatu dalam alinea dan dimiringkan (*italic*).
c. Kutipan langsung lima baris atau lebih ditulis dalam alinea tersendiri tanpa tanda kutip. Posisi penulisan diberi *indent* lurus dengan baris awal alinea.
d. Kutipan tidak langsung yaitu pengutipan sebuah teks yang disarikan dan dituliskan dalam kalimat sendiri, ditulis sebagai bagian dari alinea tanpa tanda kutip/tanda petik.
e. Pengutipan hasil penelitian atau pendapat orang lain, sebaiknya menggunakan kutipan tidak langsung (menggunakan kalimat sendiri, bukan kalimat yang persis sama).
f. Kutipan ayat Alquran dan Hadis dituliskan dengan huruf Arab sesuai teks aslinya, termasuk tanda-tanda bacanya, dengan menggunakan *Traditional Arabic* 16 cetak tebal. Ayat Alquran ditulis lengkap dengan nama dan nomor surah serta nomor ayat, sedangkan Hadis ditulis lengkap sanad dan rawinya serta dilengkapi *footnote* yang berisi: Nama kitab, jilid, bab, nomor hadis dan halaman. Contoh:

Berdasarkan firman Allah Swt. dalam surah Al-Ankabut 29: 67-69:

أَوَلَمْ يَرَوْا أَنَّا جَعَلْنَا حَرَمًا آمِنًا وَيُتَخَطَّفُ النَّاسُ مِنْ حَوْلِهِمْ أَفَبِالْبَاطِلِ يُؤْمِنُونَ وَبِنِعْمَةِ اللَّهِ يَكْفُرُونَ (67) وَمَنْ أَظْلَمُ مِمَّنِ افْتَرَى عَلَى اللَّهِ كَذِبًا أَوْ كَذَّبَ بِالْحَقِّ لَمَّا جَاءَهُ أَلَيْسَ فِي جَهَنَّمَ مَثْوًى لِلْكَافِرِينَ (68) وَالَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا فِينَا لَنَهْدِيَنَّهُمْ سُبُلَنَا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمَعَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ (69)

Hal ini sejalan dengan sabda Nabi Muhammad Saw.:

عَنْ عَائِشَةَ (رَضِيَّ اللهُ عَنْهَا) قَالَ: كَانَ رَسُولُ اللهِ (صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم) إِذَا عَصَفَتِ الرِّيْحُ قَالَ: "اَللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَسْأَلُكَ خَيْرَهَا وَخَيْرَ مَا فِيْهَا وَخَيْرَ ماَ أَرْسَلْتَ بِهِ، وَأَعُوْذُ بِكَ مِنْ شَرِّهَا وَشَرِّ مَا فِيْهَا وَشَرِّ مَا أَرْسَلْتَ بِهِ" (رواه مسلم)٠

g. Khusus pengutipan ayat Alquran yang tidak lengkap dalam satu ayat, diberi tanda titik tiga buah sebelum atau sesudahnya. Contoh:

... ۚ لَا تَبْدِيلَ لِخَلْقِ ٱللَّهِ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ ٱلدِّينُ ٱلْقَيِّمُ وَلَٰكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ ٱلنَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ...(الروم : 30 : 30)

h. Anotasi (keterangan pendek) ditulis di antara dua kurung besar [...] langsung setelah ungkapan atau kalimat yang diberi anotasi. Anotasi yang melebihi satu baris ditulis sebagai catatan kaki.
i. Kutipan dari ayat-ayat Alquran tidak diperlukan catatan kaki karena nama dan nomor surah serta nomor ayat telah dituliskan dalam ayat yang dikutip.

2. Penulisan Kutipan Catatan Kaki dan Daftar Pustaka

Teknik penulisan catatan kaki, menggunakan sistem sitasi *Chicago Manual of Style 17th edition font Cambria 10*, ditulis secara berurutan: Nama penulis [tanpa pangkat dan gelar], *Judul buku diketik miring,* cetakan/*edition* [jika ada], jilid/*series* [jika ada] (Tempat/kota penerbit: Nama penerbit, Tahun terbit), nomor halaman.

Buku yang disunting oleh editor diikuti "ed." tanpa kurung setelah penulisan nama. Jika buku ditulis tanpa kota penerbit diketik "t.k."; tanpa penerbit diketik "t.p."; jika tanpa tahun terbit diketik "t.t.". Apabila tahun penerbitan berupa tahun hijriyah diketik "H." setelah penyebutan tahun. Halaman tanpa penulisan simbol halaman, langsung pada penulisan angka. Apabila ingin menyebutkan lagi sumber yang terdahulu harus disebutkan nama penulis dan diikuti dengan nama buku yang dimaksud. Dalam penyebutan ulang ini, **tidak digunakan istilah** tertentu: **ibid.**, **op. cit.**, dan **loc. cit.**.

Sumber rujukan yang berasal dari bahasa Arab, ditulis dalam huruf latin berdasarkan pedoman transliterasi Tashwirul Afkar [*Legal of Congress*] dengan merubah *font* ke *Times New Arabic 10* (lihat pedoman transliterasi Tashwirul Afkar).

Teknik penulisan daftar pustaka, menggunakan sistem sitasi *Chicago Manual of Style 17th edition font Cambria 12*, ditulis secara berurutan: Nama penulis ditulis nama belakangnya lebih dahulu, diikuti nama depan dan nama tengah (atau inisial). *Judul buku (diketik miring)*.

Cetakan/*Edition.* Jilid/*Series* (bila ada). Kota penerbit: Nama penerbit, Tahun penerbitan.
Jika literatur ditulis lebih dari dua orang: Nama penulis pertama ditulis nama belakangnya lebih dahulu, dilanjutkan penulis kedua dan seterusnya dan nama belakang tidak perlu dibalik seperti penulis pertama. Ditulis 1 spasi, berurutan secara alfabetis tanpa nomor. Penulisan daftar pustaka tidak menggunakan et al., sebagai pengganti penulis kedua dan seterusnya.
Sumber rujukan yang berasal dari bahasa Arab, ditulis dalam huruf latin berdasarkan pedoman transliterasi Tashwirul Afkar [*Legal of Congress*] dengan merubah *font* ke *Times New Arabic* 12 (lihat pedoman transliterasi Tashwirul Afkar).

Dibawah ini beberapa contoh catatan kaki dan daftar pustaka untuk berbagai sumber kutipan:

a. Kutipan dari Buku

1) Satu penulis.

[1]Muh}ammad ‘A<bid Al-Ja>biri>, *Nah}nu Wa Al-Tura>th: Qira>at Mu’a>s}irat Fi> Tura>thina> Al-Falsafi*> (Beirut: Markaz al-Thaqafi> al-‘Arabi>, 1990), 29.

Al-Ja>biri>, Muh}ammad ‘A<bid. *Nah}nu Wa Al-Tura>th: Qira>at Mu’a>s}irat Fi> Tura>thina> Al-Falsafi*>. Beirut: Markaz al-Thaqafi> al-‘Arabi>, 1990.

2) Dua atau tiga penulis/editor [nama tetap dicantumkan].

[2]Atang Abdul Hakim dan Jaih Mubarok, *Metodologi Studi Islam* (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 1999),47-48.

[3]Morris Neiburger, James G. Edinger, and William Bonner, eds., *Understanding Our Atmospheric Environment* (San Francisco, California: W. H. Freeman, 1973), 87.

Hakim, Atang Abd., dan Jaih Mubarok. *Metodologi Studi Islam*. Bandung: Rosda Karya, 1999.

Neiburger, Morris, James G. Edinger, and William Bonner, eds. *Understanding Our Atmospheric Environment*. San Francisco, California: W. H. Freeman, 1973.

3) Empat penulis/editor atau lebih, dalam catatan kaki dicantumkan hanya penulis/editor pertama diikuti *et al.*, dalam daftar pustaka dicantumkan semua penulis/editor.

[4] Philip S.Gorski et al., eds., *The Post-Secular in Quetion: Religion in Contemporary Society* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2012), 135.

Gorski, Philip S., David Kyuman Kim, John Torpey, and Jonathan Van Antwerpen, eds. *The Post-Secular in Quetion: Religion in Contemporary Society*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2012.

4) Jika mengutip sumber yang sudah dikutip sebelumnya (tanpa ibid. dan op.cit.).

[5]Jala>luddi>n Al-Suyu>t}i>, *Al-Itqa>n Fi>'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*, Jilid 2 (Beirut: Da>rul-Fikr, t.t.),19.

[6]Al-Suyu>t}i>, *Al-Itqa>n Fi> 'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*, 77.

[7]Muh}ammad ibn 'Alawi> Al-Ma>liki> Al-H{asani>, *Zubdah Al-'Itqa>n Fi> 'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n* (Jeddah: Da>r Al-Shuru>q, 1983), 24.

[8]Al-Suyu>t}i>, *Al-Itqa>n Fi> 'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*, 83.

[9]Al-H{asani>, *Zubdah Al-'Itqa>n Fi> 'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*, 28.

Al-Suyu>t}i>, Jala>luddi>n. *Al-Itqa>n Fi> 'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*. Jilid 2. Beirut: Da>rul-Fikr, t.t.

Al-H{asani>, Muh}ammad ibn 'Alawi> Al-Ma>liki>. *Zubdah Al-'Itqa>n Fi> 'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*. Jeddah: Da>r Al-Shuru>q, 1983.

5) Jika buku yang dikutip lagi itu lebih dari satu jilid, dan yang digunakan lebih dari satu jilid.

[10]Al-Zarkashi>, *Al-Burha>n Fi>'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*, Jilid 1 (Beirut: Da>r al-Ma'rifah, 1391 H.), 45.

[11]Al-Zarkashi>, *Al-Burha>n Fi>'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*, Jilid 2 (Beirut: Da>r al-Ma'rifah, 1391 H.), 16.

Al-Zarkashi>. *Al-Burha>n Fi>'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*. Jilid 1. Beirut: Da>r al-Ma'rifah, 1391 H.

———. *Al-Burha>n Fi>'Ulu>m Al-Qur'a>n*. Jilid 2. Beirut: Da>r al-Ma'rifah, 1391 H.

6) Buku teks terjemahan.

[12] Mark Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan*, trans. Hairus Salim "Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism" (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), 88.

Woodward, Mark. *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan*. Translated by Hairus Salim "Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism". Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999.

7) Buku terbitan lembaga/badan/organisasi yang tidak ada nama penulisnya.

[13] Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, *Pendidikan Anti Korupsi Untuk Perguruan Tinggi*, Cetakan I (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi Bagian Hukum, 2011), 38.

Indonesia, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik. *Pendidikan Anti Korupsi Untuk Perguruan Tinggi*. Cetakan I. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi Bagian Hukum, 2011.

b. Kutipan dari artikel

1) Artikel Jurnal Ilmiah

Dalam catatan kaki: Nama penulis artikel, "judul artikel ditulis di antara tanda petik rangkap," *Nama jurnal dimiringkan*, Volume, Issue/Nomor (Tahun terbit): Nomor halaman yang dikutip, doi (jika ada).

Dalam daftar pustaka: Nama belakang penulis, Nama depan dan tengah. "Judul artikel."*Nama Jurnal (cetak miring)* Volume, Nomor/Issue (Tahun terbit): Halaman Artikel. Doi (jika ada)

Jurnal yang penulisan titimangsa terbitnya: Volume dan Tahun

[14]Husnul Qodim, "Dinamika Salafisme Di Indonesia: Akar Intelektualitas Dan Orientasi Ideologis Yang Beragam," *Tashwirul Afkar: Jurnal Refleksi Pemikiran Keagamaan & Kebudayaan* 21 (2007), 65.

Jurnal yang penulisan titimangsa terbitnya: Volume, Issue/Nomor dan Tahun

[15] Lyn Parker, Irma Riyani, and Brooke Nolan, "The Stigmatisation of Widows and Divorcees (janda) in Indonesia, and the Possibilities for Agency," Indonesia and The Malay World 44, no. 128 (2016): 30, doi:10.1080/-13639811.2016.1111677.

Parker, Lyn, Irma Riyani, and Brooke Nolan. "The Stigmatisation of Widows and Divorcees (janda) in Indonesia, and the Possibilities for Agency." *Indonesia and The Malay World* 44, no. 128 (2016): 27–46. doi:10.1080/13639811.2016.1111677.

Qodim, Husnul. "Dinamika Salafisme Di Indonesia: Akar Intelektualitas Dan Orientasi Ideologis Yang Beragam." *Tashwirul Afkar: Jurnal Refleksi Pemikiran Keagamaan & Kebudayaan* 21 (2007): 46–74.

2) Artikel dalam bab atau bagian lain dari buku kompilasi/book section dengan editor atau terjemahan.

[16]Wilfred Cantwell Smith, "Scripture as Form and Concept: Their Emergence for the Western World," in *Rethinking Scripture: Essays from a Comparative Perspective*, ed. Miriam Levering (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), 31.

[17]Maribeth Erb, "Kebangkitan Adat Di Flores Barat: Budaya, Agama Dan Tanah," dalam*Adat Dalam Politik Indonesia*, ed. Jamie S. Davidson, David Henley, and Sandra Moniaga, trans. Emilius Ola Kleden and Nina Dwisasanti "The Revival of Tradition in Politics: The Deployment of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism" (Jakarta: YOI dan KITL, 2010), 270.

Erb, Maribeth. "Kebangkitan Adat Di Flores Barat: Budaya, Agama Dan Tanah." Dalam*Adat Dalam Politik Indonesia*, edited by Jamie S. Davidson, David Henley, and Sandra Moniaga, translated by Emilius Ola Kleden dan Nina Dwisasanti " The Revival of Tradition in Politics: The Deployment of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism," 269–299. Jakarta: YOI dan KITL, 2010.

Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. "Scripture as Form and Concept: Their Emergence for the Western World." In *Rethinking Scripture: Essays from a Comparative Perspective*, edited by Miriam Levering, 29–57. New York: State University of New York Press, 1989.

3) Artikel dari Ensiklopedi.

[16]Parvis Morewedge, "Theology," ed. John L. Esposito et al., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of The Modern Islamic World*, vol. 4 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 214.

Morewedge, Parvis. "Theology." Edited by John L. Esposito, Shahrough Akhavi, Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, James P. Piscatori, Abdulaziz Sachedina, Sharon Siddique, John O. Voll, and Fred R. von der Mehden. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of The Modern Islamic World*. Vol.4. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

4) Artikel dari surat kabar atau majalah.

[18]Usep Romli, "Trend Wisata Alam: Ngitung Lembur, Ngajajah Milang Kori," *Pikiran Rakyat*, Bandung, 5 Januari 2013, 25.

Romli, Usep. "Trend Wisata Alam: Ngitung Lembur, Ngajajah Milang Kori." *Pikiran Rakyat*. Bandung. 5 Januari 2013.

c. Kutipan dari Tesis/Disertasi yang tidak diterbitkan.

[3]Nuryah Asri Sjafirah, "Transformasi Identitas Pelaku Konversi Agama Etnis China" (Disertasi Program Pascasarjana, Universitas Padjadjaran Bandung, 2010), 177.

Sjafirah, Nuryah Asri. "Transformasi Identitas Pelaku Konversi Agama Etnis China." Disertasi Program Pascasarjana, Universitas Padjadjaran Bandung, 2010.

d. Kutipan prosiding konferensi/seminar/simposium.

[1]Muhammad Yasir Alimi, "When Religion Fails to Nature Character", (Prosiding International Conference Ethics in Development, Semarang, 17-19 Juli 2011), 59.

Alimi, Muhammad Yasir. "When Religion Fails to Nature Character." Prosiding International Conference Ethics in Development, Semarang, 17-19 Juli 2011.

e. Kutipan dari makalah ilmiah yang dipresentasikan dalam seminar atau konferensi.

[1]Rachel Adelman, "Such Stuffas as Dreams Are Made On: God's Footstool in the Aramaic Targumim and Midrashic Tradition" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of the Biblical Literature, New Orleans, Lousiana, 21-24 November 2009), 14.

Adelman, Rachel. "Such Stuffas as Dreams Are Made On: God's Footstool in the Aramaic Targumim and Midrashic Tradition." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of the Biblical Literature, New Orleans, Lousiana, 21-24 November2009.

f. Kutipan dari Wawancara

[19] Komar Nuruzzaman (santri), wawancara oleh Busro, Pesantren Buntet Cirebon, tanggal 14 November 2015.

Nuruzzaman, Komar (santri), wawancara oleh Busro. Pesantren Buntet Cirebon. Tanggal 14 November 2015.

LAKPESDAM

LEMBAGA KAJIAN & PENGEMBANGAN
SUMBER DAYA MANUSIA
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